

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"That no person who has *an office, or place of profit*, under the king, or receives *a pension* from the crown, shall be capable of serving as a member of the House of Commons."—Act, 12 and 13, William III, commonly called the Act of Settlement, that is to say, the act by which the crown was taken from the family of Stuart, and settled upon the family of Hanover.

97]

[98]

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT (continued from page 84).—I. *Lord Cochrane's Motion respecting Places, Pensions, &c.*—II. *Precious Privilege.*—III. *Irish Insurrection Bill.*—IV. *Lord Cochrane's Motion respecting the Navy.*—V. *Poor Laws.*—VI. *Westminster Election.*—On the 7th of this month Lord Cochrane made a motion, in the House of Commons, for the appointment of a committee to inquire into, and to ascertain, the number and amount of the emolument, of all places, offices, posts, sinecures, pensions, and fees, enjoyed by members of the present House of Commons, or their wives, children, and other relations; and also of all reversions held by them, or any of them, of such places, &c. &c. and of every thing whatever, yielding profit to them, either directly or indirectly, and arising from taxes, or impositions of any sort, upon the people.—My motto, which contains one of the most important of the conditions, upon which the crown of England was taken from the family of Stuart and settled upon the family of Hanover, has been before selected by me; and, indeed, it ought, in one way or another, to be kept continually before the eyes of the nation. Upon the principles of this constitutional law, Lord Cochrane seems to have founded a very excellent motion. As he had said: "I hear much talk about the constitution; whether I go upon the hustings, into the courts of justice, or into this House, I hear perpetually recur the word constitution, the invaluable constitution, and I hear myself called upon to make sacrifices for the constitution, to give all my money if wanted, nay, to die for the sake of the constitution. It was quite natural, therefore, that I should endeavour to ascertain what this constitution was, or, at the least, to obtain some distinct idea of it. I looked back into the history of the cashiering of the tyrant James, and, in the laws, which were passed in consequence of that event, I found a description of the constitution, if a description of it be any where to be found. The causes of the cashiering are

"there stated, and the rules by which the nation is to be governed in future are plainly laid down. Amongst these rules, the most important one of all appears to me to be, that which relates to the preventing of the House of Commons from becoming a mere tool in the hands of the king's ministers, or servants; and which rule positively provides, that no member of the House of Commons shall hold any place or pension under the crown. I find, however, to my great regret, that, in a few years after this constitutional law was enacted, it was, as far as related to this excellent rule, repealed; that is to say, that a House of Commons, whom the law forbade to hold places and pensions under the crown, a House of Commons, chosen under a law which forbade them to pocket the money of their constituents, passed a law to enable themselves to pocket as much of that money as they could prevail upon the minister of the day to let them take. But, the constitutional principle remains unshaken by such alteration of the law; and, at a moment when every man, of whatever party, is ready to declare that the nation is reduced to a state of great political peril, it seems to me necessary to inquire, to what extent this partaking of the public money by "the guardians of the public purse" has prevailed, or does now prevail."—Nothing, surely, could be more reasonable than this; and now let us hear what was said upon the subject, taking the report of the debate as we find it in the news-papers.—"Lord Cochrane said, he was influenced by no other motive than that of an anxious wish to discharge a great public duty. If his motion was acceded to, the result would prove, whether there was any possibility of making those who had lived and grown rich upon the public money, feel for the extraordinary burdens under which the people laboured. The late plan of finance had proved that as much as could have been exacted had been drawn from the people, and that it was not possible to draw more: ingenuity had exhausted it.

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" self in devising new sources of taxation.
 " The people knew all this. If he was asked, how he could so judge of the public sentiment, he in answer should appeal to the universal sentiment without doors; the variety of publications; the language held upon the hustings throughout the empire during the late election; the language made use of in the different advertisements from the successful candidates to their constituents, and if all these together did not enable a man to form a just estimate of public opinion, he did not know what could do so; nor was it to be forgotten, the different *shameless notices* that appeared in the different papers concerning the sale of seats in a certain assembly. At the same time he wished it to be understood, that nothing was farther from his intention, than to complain of the allowances made to the efficient public officers; so far from thinking those allowances as extravagant, he thought them rather under than over what they should be. As to his motives, Gentlemen might be disposed to question them. He remembered a member of that house being accused of *Jacobinism*, because he expressed these sentiments which he (lord C.) entirely concurred in."—The motion itself concluded his lordship's speech, and a very puzzling motion it appears to have been. None of the ministers rose against it in the teeth; but, just as I had foreseen and foretold, a person precisely calculated for the thing, Mr. Banks, got up and objected to it upon the ground of want of *precedent*. But, let us hear him, and with great attention too. His words are well-worthy of being heard and treasured up.—" He thought the information desired by the noble lord desirable in many respects; but it would be neither practicable nor proper to pass the order in its present shape. There was no *precedent* of such an order on the Journals, though the house had frequently thought it right to interpose and check the excessive or improper distribution of salaries, pensions, and emoluments, derived from the public. So extensive a field of inquiry could hardly be reduced to any of the known rules adopted by committees of the house. The places held by members of Parliament were besides known, and the *pension list* was either regularly laid on the table every session, or might be on the motion of any member. The committee in which he had the honour to preside (the Committee of Finance) had ordered the pension list to be laid before it, and

" would proceed to examine the circumstances connected with it in the next session. It was *irridious and improper to convey to the public an insinuation*, that members of parliament were influenced by considerations of private advantage for themselves or their dependents. He knew no ground, for casting at the present time an imputation never cast at any former time. For it was most essential, that at this critical period, the character of the house of commons should not be degraded or depreciated. It was also unfair, as well as impolitic and unpatriotic, to depreciate the resources of the country, as the noble lord had done, by stating that we were on the verge of bankruptcy. Though sensible of the difficulties of the times, and of the relief arising from the judicious suspension of taxation, every man of judgement, who considered the situation of the country, would allow there were ample resources to meet the difficulties that we had to encounter. He did not see how the advertisements, for the purchase and sale of seats, in a certain assembly, should be construed into an argument of the general corruption of members of parliament. He agreed with the noble lord, that the public servants, and particularly those of the higher classes, were rather under than over paid. There was only one species of pensions, which it was necessary to inquire particularly into. Within the three last years the several public departments had got into the practice of granting pensions within themselves, without complying with the provisions of Mr. Burke's Act that all pensions should be from the Exchequer only. Some of the public departments had withdrawn themselves even from the controul of the Treasury in this respect. On the whole, however anxious for enquiry, and desirous to afford the public information, he could not consent to pass the noble lord's motion in its present shape."—As to the general pension list being laid before parliament, I will speak of that by-and-by. The rest of what Mr. Banks said I shall leave without comment, and it will, doubtless, produce that effect, which every thing coming from a member, so exalted in point of character and public services as to be reckoned amongst those who are thought of for the peerage, must naturally produce —Mr. Curwen said, that he had hoped the noble lord's motion would have passed without a dissenting voice. He had hoped some measures would be taken to put an end to the dis-

graceful scenes that had formed a subject of such discreditable crimination and re-crimination a few nights since. It was no objection that there was no precedent, the unprecedented state of the thing was a stronger ground for the investigation. When the exigency of the times was such as to require the exertion of every arm, the want of precedent was not to be pleaded in bar to the satisfaction due to the public mind. The Finance Committee had an extensive range of inquiry before it, and ought not to suffer a day to elapse without reporting something. The practice of granting pensions without the controul of the Treasury or the Exchequer, was a stronger ground of inquiry. When it was recorded on the Journals, that seats in the house were bought and sold like bullocks in Smithfield market (Mr. Horne Tooke's petition), it was too much to find fault with the noble lord for advertizing to newspaper advertisements."—This last sentence was a pretty good answer to Mr. Banks's complaint about throwing out insinuations calculated to depreciate the character of the House! Mr. Tooke's is far from insinuation. Mr. Curwen expressed, for that reason I know not, his approbation of the manner in which Sir Francis Burdett was elected, though he disapproved of Sir Francis's subsequent address to the electors Westminster, without, however, imputing any thing more than a want of judgement to him. Whereupon I, as one of the subscribers to that unparalleled election, shall only serve, that my opinion of that event and the address of Sir Francis is no more injured by what Mr. Curwen said, than the opinion of the character of the Honourable House could be by any insinuations that Lord Cochrane could throw out against it.—

Whitbread followed Mr. Curwen, and too wished the inquiry to be referred to the Committee of Finance, that committee the appointment of which, as now new-modded, is same Mr. Whitbread had strenuously opposed! This was the committee, loaded with a year's labours at least, to whom Mr. Whitbread proposed to leave this all important inquiry!—Snap, at your word! Mr. Ceval closed with this immediately, and said, "that no opposition would be made to the motion, if the noble mover would assent to a modification, such as was suggested from the other side. It was his wish to give all possible information. To call for a return of all those connected with members of parliament would be to lead to an endless list of persons, from which no practical result could be derived.

" Officers in the army and navy, for instance, and on the half pay, would be included. If the matter was referred to the committee, it might inquire not only into the pensions held by members of parliament, which would be distinguished by the names, but into all pensions, by whomsoever held. The lists of pensions and places might be had from the different departments; but, if the inquiry of the committee was deemed satisfactory, he saw no objection to it. He thought the motion ought to be extended in some respects, and narrowed in others, in order to give it a useful and not an unnecessary range. The crown being allowed the power of granting pensions to a certain amount, it would be competent to inquire before the report of the committee, as well as after, whether the pension list ought to be reduced. The house having fixed the amount to be granted, he questioned whether it would be right to canvass the propriety of every individual grant. He moved, in the way of amendment, that the matter should be referred to the Finance Committee," of which, as the reader will recollect, Messrs. Leycester, Ryder, P. Carew, H. Addington and others are members.—Lord Ossulston spoke in favour of the original motion.—Mr. J. Smith stated a fact truly astonishing, namely, that, "amongst his numerous constituents, an opinion certainly prevailed, that the House of Commons was not so independent as it ought to be!" Indeed! Astonishing! This is a case, if one belonged to the popish party, to call vehemently for holy-water. Mr. J. Smith added, that, seeing how greatly the dangers of the country had been increased by the recent events upon the continent, he thought the power of the crown ought not to be diminished; and, as there was under discussion no branch of that power, except that of granting places and pensions, he must, of course, have regarded this species of power as well adapted to the resisting of Napoleon's armies. Well! if this be the opinion, let it be tried, say I!—Mr. Lyttleton and Sir J. Sebright spoke in favour of Lord Cochrane's motion, as did also Mr. W. Smith.—But, Mr. Wilberforce made the most valuable speech. This is just your right sort of man for making a speech upon such an occasion. Let's hear him. "Mr. Wilberforce, after advertizing to the integrity and independence of his honourable friend (Mr. Banks), expressing his regret that he should have said any thing on the present occasion which

" might have the appearance of a desire to prevent inquiry ! It was highly gratifying to him, and must be so to the noble lord (Cochrane), to see that his motion was received with general approbation, and that there appeared to be scarcely any difference, except as to the FORM. He thought the mode proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer the most proper, but differed from him as to the grants by the crown, which might be examined, though not malignantly nor invidiously. With regard to the salaries of public men, he thought that here, too, a prudent parsimony ought to prevail, for it ought to be considered that they were paid not only by their salaries, but by the distinction they enjoyed, and the opportunity of transmitting their names to posterity as faithful and able servants of the public. Yet he thought that they ought to have pensions upon retirement, upon the same principle, that officers in the army and navy have half-pay. He was convinced that nothing was better calculated than openness and fair dealing, to make public men and parliament stand well in public opinion, and he was GLAD that this motion had been made, as it would tend to secure that object. But there was a danger of hunting too eagerly after popularity. The circumstance that rendered popular governments more capable of great exertions than others, was the affection of the people to their institutions, and their consequent willingness to bear the public burthens. It was, therefore, of the last importance that the house of commons should stand well with the considerate part of the community, particularly with the middleclasses, which formed the most valuable part of it. IF an idea had gone forth that there was a great deal of corruption in that house, it was desirable that the public should be satisfied that there was a great deal more independence in it than was imagined. This motion came rather suddenly, and he was desirous to adjourn the debate for two or three days, to consider about the most proper mode of attaining the object in view (*a cry of no, no!*). He doubted whether it ought to be referred to the Committee of Finance or to a separate Committee. The Committee of Finance had certainly a great deal of business already, and would probably bring sums into the public service that were at present lost to the state. But the point deserved consideration."—Consideration ! What consideration was wanted upon the subject ?

Lord Cochrane wanted to know how many of the members of the House had emoluments arising out of the taxes; how many of "the guardians of the public purse" received money out of that purse. What consideration, therefore, was wanted to determine, whether he should have this information in a day or two, or whether he should wait a year or two for it ? Yes, it was, as Mr. Wilberforce says, a subject of regret, that any thing should have been said, which might have the appearance of a desire to prevent inquiry ; for, as he afterwards declared (very sincerely, I dare say), he must have been exceedingly glad that this motion had been made.—Before I proceed with the debate, I must notice Mr. Wilberforce's curious doctrine relative to pensions granted to retiring place men, upon the same principle that half pay is granted to officers in the army and navy ! Comparisons sometimes serve to make truth more apparent ; but, is this a comparison of that sort ? What similarity is there between the case of a captain in the army, who has served abroad and at home, up to that rank, and who has bought his commission, perhaps, whose full pay is a bare subsistence for one man ; and that of a man who has been receiving a large salary, in comfort and safety at home ? In the navy men must enter at so early an age as to render it quite improbable, that, when they are grown up, they should be able to return to private life, and there acquire the means of living ; and, as to both army and navy, these are professions which can be followed no where but under the government ; so that, if an officer of either service loses his employment in that service, he loses his only means of existence. But, is this the case with place men ? They can, at any time, become what they were before ; and, in general all they have received, in the way of salary is so much of clear gains. What hindered Mr. Huskisson, for instance, to set up apothecary ? Have the large sums which Mr. Canning has received, in his several offices, disqualified him for again editing a newspaper ? What should prevent Mr. Rose from getting as good a living as he got before he was in office ? Observe, too, that the half-pay of officers in the army and navy is not given to them for life and without conditions. They are liable to be called on again at an hour's warning, not only to come to their regiments, but to go abroad, to face the enemy's sword or the dangers of climate. Nothing more needs be said to show to the officers of the army and the navy, the nature of Mr. Wilberforce's comparison. They

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not want much to enable them to form a just opinion of it. In truth, I am half inclined to believe, that this comparison must have arisen from an erroneous chain of reasoning upon that part of Sir Francis Burdett's address, wherein he speaks of "the *Regiment*;" but, I much question, whether even the Baronet himself, though well-acquainted with the establishment, ever dreamt that it would openly speak of its list of *half-pay*!—This speech of Mr. Wilberforce was most valuable. It gave us the true picture. It was one of those matters, that he was speaking upon, that was clearly understood by the people.—After him came Mr. Sheridan, who observed, that the noble lord very wisely had not prefaced his motion with much argument, because (if he comprehended him rightly) his object was not so much to diminish the public expenditure, as to ascertain the degree of influence which the crown possessed in that house. As to the mode proposed by the right hon. the chancellor of the exchequer, it appeared to him to be a most roundabout way to go into the general investigation of the subject, to obtain a list of all the places, pensions, &c. enjoyed by different individuals, and from that list to select the names of the members of that house who participated in them. Why not the individual list called for by the noble lord? *Every gentleman seemed to be tender upon this subject*; but the only way to convince the public that its suspicions were unfounded, was not to mask the matter, but to show at once what part of the house received these emoluments, and what part did not. In his opinion it was much better that government should expend fifty, aye, a hundred and fifty millions of money annually in the general service of the country, than that they should expend £50,000 in the house of commons. He objected to any alteration in the noble lord's motion. If the result of the production of the list for which the noble lord had moved, should be to astonish those who were not disposed to think very favourably of the house of commons, it would be most fortunate: but if on the contrary, it should be found that there were an incredible number of members who either directly or indirectly derived advantages from sources not the most pure, that was a fact which ought to be known to the people. At any rate let not the question be blinked."—This was a good speech, and the better, because, if Lord Cochrane's

motion had been carried, Mr. Sheridan himself must have appeared upon the list of sinecure place-men; for, he would not have succeeded in persuading lord Cochrane, that the emoluments of his Cornwall place do not arise from the burthens imposed upon the public.—" Mr. Huskisson, advertising to some observations made in an early stage of the debate, wished to set himself right with the house. While now *in place*, he did not enjoy *the pension*, which had been granted to him on his formerly quitting office"—To this Mr. Calcraft replied, in the course of a very short, but very *pithy* speech: "he would not," he said, "trouble the house long. The noble lord's proposition was, that a list of the members who were directly or indirectly under the influence of ministers, should be laid on the table. If there were persons who had their patrimony out of the public money, it was proper that they should be known. There were some who could not have their MARRIAGE SETTLEMENTS without pensions, reversions, &c. &c. The hon. gentleman opposite (*Mr Huskisson*), had a grant, which, from its nature, ceased when he came into office. This was only 1000*l.* and his office brought him 4000*l.* he could not therefore hesitate in his choice between them. But if he was not mistaken, the hon. gentleman had a sinecure place too, which he enjoyed along with the office, and indeed, in casting his eye along the Treasury Bench, it was difficult to find one who had not some great emolument of this nature. It ought to be seen on which side of the house the greatest portion of independence existed, and the list ought to be laid on the table unmixed with baser matter.—Mr G. Rose, with great warmth, said, that the extent of his rewards for his public services were well known to the public. He challenged inquiry, and wished that the terms of the present motion might be rendered as satisfactory as possible."—One of the evils of living in the country, is, that one is prevented from being an eye-witness of the generous warmth of George Rose! Aye, indeed, enough in all conscience of his rewards are well-known to the public. Of his *half-pay*, as well as his full pay, we have quite sufficient knowledge; but, Mr. Wilberforce, George's half-pay goes on at the same time with his full pay. Thus your comparison does not hold, plausible as it might, for a moment, have been amongst your middle classes of society." Well

enough George may praise the constitution ! George and his family receive, under this inestimable constitution, not less than ten thousand good pounds a year. Where will he find such another constitution in the whole world ?—The *marriage settlements* came out at last. That is excellent. I suggested, I believe, a few weeks ago, that the places and pensions, granted to some persons, had an effect the contrary of that of “ checking population ;” and, I had, I must confess, heard, that, upon *two especial occasions*, Hymen, in the shape of an old usurer of a father, had actually refused to light his torch, ‘till Cupid, in the shape of a minister of state, had made his appearance with a most moving piece of eloquence written upon parchment, having a patent seal upon one corner ; but, we are now told plainly, in the Honourable House, that “ there are some who could not have their marriage settlements without pensions, reversions, &c. &c.” We are told this plainly ; and that, too, in the Honourable House itself, there being *no contradiction* to it. Nor, as to the sinecure, *enjoyed along with his place of 4,000 l. a year*, did Mr. Huskisson make any reply. What an excellent country this is for Mr. Huskisson ! What an invaluable constitution !—This little interesting digression being over, Mr. Perceval proposed his amendment, which made the motion this : “ *That there should be an instruction to the Committee of Public Expenditure to procure a List of ALL Offices, Places, Pensions, &c. specifying by whom they were held, with the exception of the Army and Navy, and Officers below 200 l. a year in the Revenue ; and cause this list to be laid on the table of the House.*”—Why any exceptions at all ? But, observe, that this list would have confounded *members of parliament with others* ; so that, to have found them and their wives, children, sisters, and mothers out would have been not only a work of several weeks for any one man ; but, it would have been morally *impossible* for him ever to have arrived at the point which lord Cochrane had in view ; for, how would any examiner of such list be able to say, whether such or such a child, or such or such a woman, was related to a member of parliament ? This amendment was, in fact, a negative upon the motion ; and, accordingly, the House having divided upon lord Cochrane’s motion, there appeared, for it 61 ; against it, 90 ; leaving the ministers a majority of 29. —After this Mr. Perceval proposed his motion, to which lord Cochrane proposed, as an amendment, to leave out all the latter

part and to substitute the words of his motion,

—Now another excellent debate followed. We have it only in substance ; but that substance is beyond all praise. I must beseech the reader to go over it with attention ; for, the day will come, when it will, every word of it, be to be re-considered.—“ **LORD HENRY PETTY** again repeated the objection

“ formerly urged by him, that by the constitution of the Committee of Finance the present was an inquiry which was already before them, and which if they failed to investigate, they would not do their duty. To prove this he requested that the order appointing the Finance Committee might be read. This being done, he said, if it was meant that the Committee should quit every other subject of inquiry, and attend to this alone till they could make their report, and that such report could be made *immediately*, he should have no objection to it, as then it might be of some utility ; as the motion stood, however, it could in his opinion produce no good.—**MR. WM. SMITH** thought an

order of the house to every public office to produce the lists in question, would do better than adopting the motion as it now stood. He hoped the motion would be so worded as to instruct the committee immediately to proceed in the inquiry in question, or that it would be withdrawn, and the papers be called for by an order of the house.—**MR. PERCEVAL** said he

had already stated, that he at first thought of this mode of proceeding ; but it afterwards occurred to him that the committee might be able to direct the attention of the house to something in the account which might escape his observation. He could not forbear observing how unfortunate he had been, after having adopted the suggestion of the hon. gent. (Mr. Whitbread) that that gentleman should have abandoned his own opinion the moment he (Mr. P.) thought of acting on it.—**MR. WHITBREAD** said, in answer

to the allusion to his conduct, that concurring as he did in principle with the noble lord who had brought forward the motion, and differing from him only in the mode of proceeding, he submitted the suggestion which he had thrown out to the noble lord, and not to the right hon. gent. The right hon. gent. had indeed gone in with his (Mr. W’s) suggestion to form ; but it did not from thence follow that he must agree in the motion the right hon. gent. to the principle which he objected. He thought the right hon. gent. would better consult the

" ings of the public by agreeing to the original motion. He hoped at least the right hon. gent. would allow his motion to be so altered, as that the committee should be instructed to proceed forthwith, and that they should also in their report distinguish those sinecures, &c. which were held by members of that house, so that the noble lord's motion might not be entirely evaded. The noble lord unquestionably meant that there should be exhibited during the present session of parliament a list of all the members of that house holding sinecure offices, places, &c. under government, and in that way liable to have their conduct influenced. If such a return was not made the house would disgrace itself. Those who respected the house at present would suspect that all was not right, and those who already suspected them would have their suspicions confirmed.—MR. BANKES wished that the accounts might be ordered to be laid before the house, that the committee might not fall into disgrace. It was IMPOSSIBLE THEY COULD REPORT THIS SESSION, AND IT WAS EQUALLY IMPOSSIBLE TO SAY HOW EARLY THEY MIGHT BE ABLE TO DO SO IN THE NEXT. If the returns were to be made to the house, no time would be lost in completing them, and then if it was thought the committee could be of service, it would be time enough to refer the papers to them. It would be but doing them slender justice, to allow the delay which might take place in making the returns to seem to attach to the committee.—MR. SHERIDAN thought it impossible, after what had fallen from the Chairman of the Committee of Finance (Mr. Bankes), that the Chancellor of the Exchequer could persevere in his motion, or if he did so, that the house would support him in it. It was nothing but an evasion of the noble lord's motion. Its object was to see how many members of this house were possessed of sinecure places, pensions, &c. and of course might be supposed to be under the influence of the crown. The motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, went to exhibit a List of all persons whatever having any place, pension, &c. This was to overwhelm the inquiry, and to strangle and suffocate the object which the noble lord had in view.—MR. VYSE supported the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.—MR. BIDDULPH thought the inquiry could not be charged as invidious,

" as some Gentlemen had represented it, unless it had been directed against persons on one side of the house only.—MR. WILBERFORCE was surprised at the great change which had so lately taken place in the language of gentlemen on the other side. Lately they confessed that there was little or no difference in the object which seemed to be in view by all parties, and that the form was the only obstruction to unanimity. Now they had all at once discovered, that the motion of his right hon. friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was calculated only to evade and defeat the object which the noble lord had in view. He contended that the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was completely adapted not only to the object sought to be gained, but that the evidence to be obtained by it might also be of importance in other respects.—DR. LAWRENCE lamented to see gentlemen who talked of their independence, and prided themselves on that circumstance, so entirely forget in what it consisted as to lend their countenance to a deception on the public.—MR. H. MARTIN objected to the delay which was likely to result from the business being referred to the Finance Committee; and stated, that when the Committee appointed in the year 1797 were retiring from office, they made a report that their precepts had not been obeyed. This was a conduct which no public office should dare to pursue to that house.—MR. ROSE supported the motion, maintaining that all the places, pensions, &c. were already well known, and that sinecures were not now so numerous as they had been.—MR. CALCRAFT observed, that such a list as was now spoken of, might, if any person were to give himself the trouble to do so, be collected from papers that were already on the table of that House. The object of the motion he conceived to be simply this, to bring fairly before the House in one point of view the names of all the members of that House, who either held places or enjoyed pensions, or else whose wives or children derived a similar emolument from the crown. He could not avoid remarking, by the way, the great activity of the member for Yorkshire (Mr. Wilberforce) in interposing with his shield over those who were in that situation, with regard to the hon. and right hon. gentlemen on the opposite bench (the Treasury bench) he might certainly find some room to compliment them on their ingenuity upon this occasion; but he was

" certain that they had not left him the small-
" lest opportunity to compliment them on a
" much more solid qualification—their sin-
" cerity." — After this a division took
place, many of the Honourable Members
having, in the mean while, come, *from accident*, I suppose, into the House: For Lord
Cochrane's amendment 60, against it, 161.
Mr. Perceval's motion was then put and car-
ried without a division.—This, then, is
the state of the case; 1st, Lord Cochrane
makes a motion, the object of which is to
ascertain how many of the members of the
present House of Commons, receive, either
directly or indirectly, money from the purse
of their constituents, and what is the amount
of the receipts of each; 2dly, Mr. Wilber-
force expresses his gladness that the motion
has been made, and is confident that it will
convince the people that all their suspi-
cions are groundless; 3dly, Mr. Perceval
proposes to new-shape the motion, and
instead of an inquiry confined to members
of parliament and their relations, to instruct
the Finance committee to make out a list of
all pensions, places, &c. &c. &c. held by all
manner of persons, and *not distinguishing*
members of parliament and their relations
from other persons; 4thly, Mr. Banks, the
chairman of the Finance Committee, states,
that it is *impossible*, that the committee
should make their report, upon this motion,
during the present session, and *equally im-
possible* to say how early they may be able
to report upon it in the *next session*; 5thly,
Mr. Wilberforce says, that the motion of
Mr. Perceval is *completely adapted to the ob-
ject sought to be gained!*—This is a fair
statement, and this statement I leave to my
readers with an expression of my earnest
hope, that they will not forget any part of
this day's transactions.—In one part of
the debate, Lord Cochrane " observed, that
" his sole motive for making this motion
" was a regard to the public benefit. He
" wished to include the Army and Navy,
" because of the manner in which he had
" observed commissions to have been disposed
" of in the latter service. The assent to this
" motion would tend to establish ministers
" in their situations; for, though they
" should secure all the votes in the house,
" they could not keep their places long
" against the current of public opinion,
" which would set against them if they ne-
" gatived it. The Committee of Finance
" had sufficient business already. If after
" the committee for which he moved should
" have made their report as to the members,
" it shoid be thought desirable to have an
" alphabetical list of all places, pensions,

" &c. he would have no objection. It would
" be an object of great curiosity. He
" thought that the subject should be gravely
" considered in parliament. He was of
" opinion, that many would be *ashamed* of
" these practices if they were exposed to
" public view, and therefore desired to give
" them publicity." — In this last particu-
lar his lordship was mistaken. It is owing
to his inexperience, that he supposes that
some of the members of the Honourable
House would do any thing that they would
be *ashamed* of. No, they do nothing that
they are ashamed of. It is for common mor-
tals to do things to be ashamed of; this is ne-
ver the case with a man after he becomes a
member of the Honourable House.—II.
PRECIOUS PRIVILEGE.—On the 8th in-
stant, there was made, in the House of
Commons, a report from what they call
there, a committee of privileges, of which, it
would seem, George Rose is at the head.
This report related to the case of a Mr.
George Galway Mills, who, it appears, was
in the King's Bench prison at the time of his
being elected to serve in parliament. Some
petitions against his being released had, it
appears, been presented to the House. But,
I dare go no farther. I must now confine
myself to the report of the debate, just as I
find it in the Morning Post Newspaper of
the 9th instant, to which report I beseech
the reader to pay attention. It will do him
great good, if his mind be fluctuating upon
these matters. It will tend to give him
feelings such as the times, and especially the
approaching times, call for.—" MR. ROSE
" brought up the Report of the Committee
" of Privileges, to whom the letter address-
" ed by *George Galway Mills, Esq.* to the
" Speaker of the House of Commons, and
" the petitions presented against the said G.
" G. Mills, Esq. had been referred. The Re-
" port stated, that the Committee had ex-
" mined and found that the said G. G.
" Mills, Esq. was a member of the house of
" commons, and that he was then in the
" custody of the marshal of the King's
" Bench. The committee had consulted
" precedents, and had abstained from ex-
" mining the *allegations contained in the*
" *petitions* which had been referred to them,
" conceiving that even had those allegations
" been proved, that would *not have in-*
" *fluenced their judgment, or prevented them*
" *from coming to the resolution which they*
" *had adopted*, namely, that the said G. G.
" Mills, Esq. was entitled to the privileges
" of parliament.—Mr. Rose then moved
" that the house do agree with the commit-
" tee in that resolution.—MR. P. MOORE,

" as a member of the committee, and as " having himself presented a petition to the " house against Mr. Mills, stated a few " points, which, in his opinion, the house, " duly regarding its own *honour* and *dignity*, " circumstances much more important " than the privileges of an individual, ought " deliberately to consider. The petition to " which he alluded had been presented by " him with the concurrence of the person " against whom it was directed, and for " whose interests he and others had exerted " their utmost efforts; those efforts had " been fruitless; because that hon. gentleman *did not choose to abide by his own propositions*. Mr. Mills's debts, of various descriptions, exceeded £30,000.— " Not one of his creditors wished to interfere with the privileges of parliament; " but they thought, and certainly they were " justified in thinking that while the house " of commons attended to the preservation " of their privileges, they should also attend to the demands of justice, and to the " preservation of their credit with the public. As far as time would allow, the " committee had examined all the precedents which appeared to bear upon the " present subject, but in his opinion, not " one was found that met the case stated in " the petitions. The petitions contained " this allegation, that the petitioner had obtained his seat in Parliament as a temporary protection, in order to evade the demands of his creditors, and ultimately, he was compelled to say so, to defraud them. He was sorry to be obliged to use such language when speaking of one with whom he had been in habits of intimacy; but in a case so glaring, which so strongly excited the public attention, at times like these, it would be well for the house to pause before they granted to any man under such circumstances, the benefit of the privilege by which the ends of public justice would be defeated. He had proposed to the committee to go into the allegations contained in the petitions. The report candidly stated, why they had not done so. There might be peculiar cases in which it would be adviseable to grant privileges without such an examination; but this did not appear to be one of them. Was it proper that he should be a legislator, who himself attempted to trample upon law?—Mr. ROSE observed, that there was a precedent as nearly in point as could possibly be expected; it was that of Mr. Basset, in the reign of Charles I. who had been arrested on a mesne process, when it was resolved that he was decided-

" ly entitled to the privileges of parliament. " On this ground, and on the ground that even were the allegations proved, they could not influence the resolutions of the committee in this respect, those allegations had not been gone into.—MR. C. WYNNE agreed *most cordially* with the report of the committee. The house were bound to support their privileges which were given to them, NOT FOR " THEIR ADVANTAGE, BUT FOR THAT OF THE COUNTRY AT LARGE. The privileges which members of parliament enjoyed of freedom from arrest, was as good for the electors as for the elected; were it not so, many of the former might be unrepresented. There was not a single instance on the Journals of the House, refusing the privilege when clearly defined. Should the abandonment of this privilege be argued, he trusted it would be argued not on a particular but on a general view of the subject; not with a reference to the individual immediately concerned, but with a reference to the honour of parliament, and the advantage of the community.—MR. COCHRANE JOHNSTONE thought that a special report ought to have been made by the committee on an inspection of the petitions which contained so strong a charge on the character of one of the members of that house: they stated that he had procured a seat in that house for the express purpose of enabling him to evade the payment of his debts and to escape to the West Indies. He understood that four or five persons now in the King's Bench were anxiously waiting the decision of the house, in order that if that decision were favourable to Mr. Mills, they might avail themselves of his example, and take similar steps in order to relieve themselves from similar embarrassments. He entreated the house, for their credit's sake, before they ordered the liberation of this gentleman, either to refer the petitions back to the committee, or to take the subject into their grave and serious consideration.—MR. ELLISON declared, that the committee had entered upon this subject with feelings as allied to the foulness of the case, as could possibly be entertained. If the allegations of the petitions were proved against Mr. Mills, he thought that no hon. member ought to sit in the house with him; but he also thought, that circumstanced as they were, the committee could do no more than they had done. Although he was of opinion that it would be better to consider

" this subject generally, yet if it were deemed adviseable to take it up particularly, he would go as far as any man to rescue the house from the imputations that might otherwise be cast upon it. If there was one duty more solemn than another, it was, that at the present moment the house should keep itself as clear as possible from any suspicion of dishonour.—Mr. SMEON observed, that no imputation could possibly rest on the house, because the allegations contained in the petitions had not yet been examined. The committee of privileges had nothing to do but with the simple case, whether Mr. Mills was a member of the house, and whether he was in the custody of the civil law?—MR. BARHAM deprecated any interference with the privileges of the house on this single case. If it could be proved that Mr. Mills had procured his election for fraudulent purposes, that would be a fit subject for the consideration of an election committee; he thought that Mr. Mills had been rather hardly treated, in having such grave accusations urged against him in his absence, when he was unable to reply to them.—THE CHANCELLOR of the EX-CHEQUER declared, that it was impossible not to approve the conduct of the committee, in refraining from entering into the allegations of the petitions. Mr. Mills's letter had been referred to them to ascertain the facts which it contained, and not to consider the law dependent on those facts which had never been questioned. Even had such a special report been made, as was wished for by an hon. gent. and had the allegations been found proved, still the house must have granted the privilege. What the law was, and what it ought to be on revision, were two very different considerations. On this subject he would at present say, that it would require some very strong arguments to induce him to believe that the public convenience and advantage would be promoted by the abandonment of this privilege of parliament, although he was aware that in some cases it was productive of private injury. Neither could he agree with the hon. gent. (Mr. Barham) that, if it could be proved that an election was procured for fraudulent purposes, such election must become void. If the charges against Mr. Mills, with the aggravating circumstances attending, could be substantiated (which, in justice to that gentleman, he must remark had not hitherto been done), it might amount to a question of expulsion; but even in that case, it would be proper

" that the accused should be within the walls, to defend himself and his seat.—Mr. Littleton and Mr. Herbert each said a few words.—MR. W. SMITH remarked, that the house might surrender the exercise of a right in a particular instance without abandoning it. He thought the report of the committee was perfectly proper; it was for the house to take it up if they should think fit.—The motion for agreeing with the committee in their resolution was then carried, as was also a motion by Mr. Rose, that the said G. G. Mills, Esq. be discharged out of the custody of the Marshal of the King's Bench.—The least said is soonest mended upon a subject like this; and, therefore, I shall content myself with a word or two upon the observations of Mr. C. Wynne. An empty-skulled fellow, though that skull were covered with a wig with as many tails to it as can be made out of a grey mare's switch, would have thought that the precious privilege, above spoken of, was invented, or enforced, at least, for the sole advantage of persons under arrest; for the sole purpose of screening members of parliament from the just demands of their creditors. But, no, says Mr. Wynne, very shrewdly, "the house's privileges are given them, not for their advantage, but for the advantage of the country at large;" and then comes the reason; "because," says he, "were it not for these privileges, many of the electors might be unrepresented." This is so true, so beautifully true, that one wonders, upon reading it, that the thought never struck one before. "Be unrepresented!" That, indeed, would be it would be the very devil! I lose all patience when I contemplate the possibility of such a thing; and, if the venting of a rough exclamation prevents me from gnawing off my fingers, I hope the reader will excuse me. "Be unrepresented!" Aye, you stupid people, do you not hear? If there were not a privilege, exempting members of parliament from being confined for debt, while the rest of us are liable to be confined for debt for our whole lives; if this were not the case, "many of us would be unrepresented!" Do you understand it now? If you do, I need say no more; and, if you do not, you are unworthy of the few words that I have already bestowed upon you.—III. IRISH INSURRECTION BILL.—This bill, which was introduced on the 9th of this month, is now upon the point of becoming a law. Its provisions are such as one might expect in a case where the whole, or nearly the whole, of the people are suspected of a wish to avail

themselves of the first favourable opportunity of rising in open rebellion. That such a bill is not necessary I am far from asserting, or even supposing; but, if such a bill be necessary, what are we to think of those writers of daily papers, and others, who have been continually assuring us, that Ireland "never was more tranquil?" These impudent falsehoods are, however, trifling when compared with another subject of reflection, namely, *that nothing is proposed to alter the state of Ireland*, which unhappy country seems doomed to remain in a state of continual agitation, and of apprehension, that, from day to day, worse and worse may happen to it ——"Hush!" "Mum!" These have been the answers given to all those, who have expressed such apprehensions. And, from the people of England, the thing has certainly been kept secret enough. There are, in the kingdom, a hundred and fifty newspapers; perhaps many more; most of them, and especially the *fashionable* ones, eager to get at news, particularly relating to blood and murder; and, yet, how completely the history of the fight between the Irish Militia and the Hanoverians was smothered in its birth! We just heard, that there had been a fight; but, as it were by the pull of a wire, all the mouths of the news-venders were closed up as tight as a bottle. No inquiry about it. Parliament has met twice, and no one asks how many of our countrymen were killed in the fight. The cause, which must be of importance in any state of things, and especially at this time, remains uninquired into. It did not use to be thus. Time was when some member of parliament would have inquired into this. But, upon this subject especially, "hush" seems to be the unanimous cry.

To insert these bills is not compatible with my space; but they are great curiosities, and such as cannot possibly be done justice to by any abstract. I will, therefore, content myself with inserting the description given of them by Sir Arthur Wellesley (so famous for his military and other deeds in Oude and other parts of Hindostan), who brought them forward. I take the report of the Morning Post.—"Sir Arthur Wellesley, in pursuance of his notice, rose to move for leave to bring in a bill, for the suppression of insurrection in Ireland, and to prevent the disturbance of the peace in that country. The house would remember, that the circumstances, which preceded and attended the suppression of the late rebellion in Ireland, had rendered stronger measures than the established laws afforded, necessary in that country.

" An act was therefore passed by the Irish parliament, in 1796, to prevent unlawful assemblies, and to authorise the lord lieutenant on a report of the magistrates, to proclaim any county where disturbances existed. That law required all persons in such counties to keep within their dwellings between the hours of sun setting and sun rising, and gave to the magistrates the power of sending persons who should be found to offend against it on board his majesty's navy. The act had proved effectual for the suppression of the insurrection, as appeared from the acknowledgment of the leaders of that insurrection before a committee of the Irish parliament. But, though such a law may be necessary, it was the duty of that house to guard against the abuse of the powers which it gave. The bill he proposed to bring in contained the same provisions as the Insurrection Act, with respect to the power of the lord lieutenant to proclaim disturbed counties, and the authority of the magistrates to arrest persons who should be found out of their dwellings between sun setting and sun rising; but, in order to prevent hardships to the subjects, the bill required that persons so arrested should be tried at the Quarter Sessions, by the magistrates and assistant barrister, assisted by a king's counsel, a serjeant specially sent down for that purpose. Besides this bill, he meant to move for leave to bring in another to prevent improper persons from keeping arms, by obliging all persons to register their arms, and authorising the magistrates to search for arms. These bills had been prepared by his predecessor, and the only difference was, that the bill of his predecessor gave a negative to the king's counsel or serjeant, which he proposed to take from him, as it appeared to him that such a negative would render the measure nugatory. He meant, however, to substitute a clause, which should, in case of any difference between the serjeant and the bench, suspend the execution of the decision of the magistrates, till the serjeant should have reported the matter to the lord lieutenant." —Sir A. Wellesley said he proposed seven years, as the time of duration of these bills, but his mind was not quite made up as to that point! —After some observations, from different members, respecting the duration of the bill, Mr Sheridan rose and said, "that he viewed this question in a different light from his friends on the bench near him, and the hon. gentleman opposite, (Col. Vereker).

" had only anticipated an opposition which " this measure was to encounter. His right " hon. friend had said, that the measure " could only be justified by one imperious " necessity; now it was *that necessity* which " he wished to have clearly made out to " exist before the measure was resorted to. " It was no answer to him that the measure " had been prepared by his friends. If it " had, the Threshers were then engaged in " their disturbances and administering un- " lawful oaths. Ireland was now on the " contrary as loyally tranquil as any part of " the empire. Would they state in the " preamble to the bill, " Whereas a very " small part of Ireland was some time ago " disturbed by the Threshers, and where- " as that disturbance has been completely " put down by the ordinary course of law, " and Ireland is now completely tranquil, " be it therefore enacted, That most " extraordinary powers, &c." This was " the case however, and until it should be " shewn to him that the necessity for the " measure existed, he should oppose it " every stage."—Upon the bill, or bills, I shall not make much observation, at present, but I may ask the English reader to reflect, for a moment, upon a life led in a country, where, upon the *application of the magistrates*, a county is to be proclaimed as being in a state of disturbance, and where, upon that proclamation being made, every inhabitant is compelled to remain *within his doors*, from sun-set until sun-rise: the magistrates having power to *search the houses* to see if the law be obeyed! What endless informations must this give rise to! What spite and malice and revenge amongst neighbours! What continual inconvenience, dread, alarm; and what unquenchable hatred!—Yet, I do not know, that the bill may not be necessary; but I agree with Mr. Sheridan in wishing to see the necessity clearly made out before the bill be passed.—But, can nothing be thought of to obviate this hard necessity? Is there no way of conciliating the good will of the people of Ireland? Are they such brutes as not to be made sensible of having a good government? Are they to be ruled by nothing but stripes? We must either maintain this, or we must allow, that, some when and some where, there must have been a fault in the government.—The causes of the discontents in Ireland were ably developed by an admired correspondent of mine in a letter which will be found in Volume XI. at page 241; and, when one considers the heart-burnings which exist amongst the catholics, and which are kept constantly alive, by the collection of *tythes*

alone, one is not astonished at the necessity of an insurrection bill. The evils of *non-residence* are felt quite sufficiently in England; the flagrant injustice of making the holders of land yield one tenth part of its produce to persons who perform no duty for it, and who expend it at a distance from the spot; so glaring a violation of the well-known principles upon which tythes were established, and upon which alone the justice of collecting them can be maintained; this has made a deep impression in England. What, then, must be expected in Ireland, where four fifths of the people yield tythes to an establishment to which they do not belong; and where the residence of an incumbent is looked upon as a *wonder*?—Mr. DILLON, during a debate, in the House of Commons, of the 15th instant, upon a grant proposed to be made for the education of Irish papist priests, " said it was no wonder " that the protestant church was disrelished " by the Irish peasant, when the only way " through which he knew it was the exac- " tions of the tythe-proctor. He concluded " with an earnest exhortation to the House, " to adopt some modification of tithes in " Ireland, as the best possible way of re- " storing the people of that country to con- " tent."—MR. PERCEVAL " assured the " hon. gentleman that the attention of " government should be early and anxiously " directed to the abuse complained of with " respect to the want of glebe houses and " sinecure livings. He did think with that " hon. gentleman that it was extremely " hard that any man should pass away an " indolent life upon an opulent living, while " a poor curate was discharging the duties " of that office for the year round upon a " pittance scarcely sufficient to maintain him. " He (Mr. Perceval) had before failed in " two or three instances in carrying through " that House a measure for the regula- " tion of rectories and cures; he however " now gave notice that it was the inten- " tion of his Majesty's present government " to submit to the consideration of the " house, a measure for reducing the *opulent* " *livings*, and out of their abundance mak- " ing an allowance for the poorer curates."—It is true, that Mr. Perceval did make an attempt or two of this sort, in which he had to oppose, in one of the instances, the late ministry. But, while I do not think, that he went far enough with regard to *this country*, I know of no attempt at all that he made in behalf of Ireland. The state in which Ireland is, as to the established church will appear from the following facts.

There are in Ireland—Parishes - - - 2,426

| | |
|---|-------|
| These parishes have been moulded into benefices - - - - - | 1,120 |
| Thereby giving upon an average the tithes of more than 2 parishes to one parson. | |
| In the 2,436 parishes there are churches —only - - - - - | 1,001 |
| In the 2,436 parishes there are parson- agehouses—only - - - - - | |
| | 355 |

Such is the state of the protestant church in Ireland. I appeal to the heart of any good man, whether it be possible, that the people should contentedly pay tithes in such a state of the church? Tithes are collected, or paid, every where, and they are exacted most rigidly, whether there be church or no church. Does this state of things warrant the notion of *Hypocrisy Personified*, who pretended to hope, in his usual canting stile, and with his Lazarus-like look, that, in time, the papists of Ireland would be converted to the true faith? The dirty Dean may bawl as long as he pleases “no popery!” but, will any man, but such a man, say, that something ought not to be done to put a stop to this enormous abuse? Yes, the clergy (I speak with exceptions), and the universities may address the king, and talk about supporting the church; but will not every reasonable man call upon them to do their part in supporting it? The moment any measure is proposed for abolishing the abuses in the church; for compelling those who receive its revenues to do the duty for which those revenues were granted, they set up a hue and cry as if you were going to murder them. Their rights are indisputable; but, so are their duties; and, however law may support the former without the performance of the latter, the mind of man is too truly formed to acquiesce without grumbling.—I must do Mr. Perceval the justice to say, that he is the only member of parliament that I know of, who has spoken upon the subject of non-residence, in suitable terms. This is one of the great grievances of the nation here; and, what, then, is it in Ireland? Not an inch do the clergy or the prelates give way as to their demands. Where the latter are lords of manors, they are as active as ever in enforcing all their feudal claims, though the corresponding duties have long fallen out of use. Their courts leet and courts baron, all the utility of which, to the vicinage, have long been unknown, serve the lords as well as ever for the purpose of demanding fines and heriots.—To return to Ireland, if it be really intended to do something, in the way now spoken of, for the people of that country, why is it delayed? Never, in my opinion, was there a more fit time. There is a constant cry for sacrifices, on the part of the

people; but, it is not the time, it seems, to make a reformation in their favour. The exigency of the moment is pleaded for the introduction of the sun-set and sun-rise bill; and, perhaps, the exigency may exist; I do not say, that it does not; but, then, I ask, is there not an exigency, equally pressing, for some measure to convince the people, that you mean to alleviate their burdens? This is what they want, and not a fanciful sentimental bill, the only real effect of which would have been to gratify the vanity of a dozen of families. Oh! but you must be very careful how you trench upon the property of the church, which, in many cases, is private property. Well, but ought you not to be very careful, then, how you trench upon the personal freedom of the people; how you pass a law to shut the inhabitants of a whole county up within the walls of their houses from sun-set to sunrise? Only tell them, that you will, upon such a day, actually pass a law to redress the grievances they complain of, or any one of those grievances, and you may leave them to go where they please, by night or by day.

—“But, what would you do, if you had it in your power, in this case of tithes, for instance?” This is a question which many a reader will put to me; and, my answer is this, that I would abolish tithes in Ireland; I would make each parish maintain its own priest, or pastor; I would remunerate the church by the purchase, at the public expense, and by valuation, of the impropriate tithes in England and Wales; I would compel every incumbent here to reside upon his living; and, if, from these alterations, the clergy should suffer inconvenience, or loss, they would only partake, in that respect, with the nation in general. To those, who start at this, I put these questions: Do you think that the catholics of Ireland will ever become protestants while the present system is persevered in? Do you think that they will ever be contented, that they will ever love the government, while they are compelled to pay tithes to a protestant church? Do you think, that, by force, we shall always be able to govern them? If all these questions are answered in the negative, as I think they must be, what remedy is there except the one that I would apply? And, as to the time, when will there be a time, if it be not now?

“What!” (some one will say, perhaps, *Hypocrisy Personified* may say it) “would you establish and confirm a crafty de-luding priesthood?” No. I would soon destroy the wretched priest-craft by making the people pay the priests, whom

they themselves should choose to have. It appears to me, that we have always been working at the wrong end. In order to fell the tree, we began niggling at the top, instead of taking out the earth from the roots ; and so we have continued. People are never, in religious matters especially, either frightened or coaxed out of an opinion. They must be led into a train of thinking for themselves, and if you take care to give them self-interest for an assistant, you need not be in much apprehension for the result. —I should like to hear the opinions of others, upon this subject, *freely* expressed. As the ministry say, that they are thinking about something to be done with respect to the church in Ireland, this seems the proper time for men to say what they think thereon. I am by no means wedded to my scheme (except after the American fashion which leaves to the parties the right of separating whenever they please), and I should be glad to see the scheme of any other man ; but, then, I must beg him to consider, that something *substantial* must be done, and that it must, to answer any good purpose, be done *without delay*.—IV. LORD COCHRANE'S MOTION RELATING TO ABUSES IN THE NAVY.—Not having room to enter into detail upon this subject, I shall just state, that, on the 10th instant, his lordship, at the close of a detailed representation of many grievances in the navy, made a motion for the production of certain papers, which he stated to contain proofs of the truth of some of the allegations which he had made. Sir Samuel Hood (late the worthy colleague of Mr. Sheridan for Westminster), Admiral Harvey, and Admiral Markham, all flatly denied the truth of Lord Cochrane's statements. When that was done Mr. Perceval got up, and said, that he considered the statements of Lord Cochrane to have been “completely DISPROVED ;” that, therefore, there was *no occasion for the papers which he had moved for* ; and, that, besides, “it appeared to him most evident, that all matters of regulation and discipline in the navy should be first referred to the board of Admiralty ; and, as this had not been done, in the present instance, he should vote against the inquiry as proposed.”—A great deal was said about the “inflammatory tendency” of the speech. If the motion had been made without grounds stated, then it would have been negative for want of grounds ; and, now that the grounds were stated, the statement is found fault with as being *inflammatory*. Thus, *which ever way he presented himself, they*

were ready for him. —As to *disproof*, Mr. Perceval, though Mr. Windham completely agreed with you for once, and though he extolled (we are *really* told) Lord St. Vincent to the skies; as to *disproof* I saw none, unless you set it down as a maxim, that the joint *assertion* of three persons is better than the assertion of one. There was assertion against assertion. I know which I believe, and am pretty sure that your belief is just the same.—Mr. Sheridan, with his usual patriotism, and with as much zeal for the good of his country as he displayed in *asking to be made Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster for life*, deprecated agitating questions of this sort *in parliament*; and, he had the face to do this after having, at the hustings of Covent Garden, told Lord Cochrane, *that the House of Commons was the proper place!* But, this is like him. Sheridan to the last ! He made one very curious statement. In referring to the mischiefs which Lord Cochrane's speeches at the hustings had done, he particularly dwelt upon the *effects* those speeches had produced upon Commodore Keates. “They were such that he had thought it necessary to demand a court-martial upon his conduct. That had been refused ; because there were *no grounds for it*.”! Good ! Excellent ! These effects, then, were not very distressing, it seems ? But, who found out, that there were “no grounds ?” Who was it ?—Verily the public will want no one to aid them in coming to a just conclusion upon this point. —The cry is, that such matters ought not to be touched upon. “Hush ! hush ! hush !” But, is this the language of reflection ? If what Lord Cochrane asserted was false, the falsehood would have been *proved* by an inquiry ; if true, ought not a remedy to be applied ; and how can it be applied unless the evil be known ? How are we ; what a state are we in, when we fear that any thing, relative to the feelings of the army or navy, should be uttered, whether true or false ? What ! do we fear that a fleet, so well off, so much indulged, so humanely treated when sick, so happy and so contented as Sir Samuel Hood and Admirals Harvey and Markham and Mr. Sheridan represented them to be ; do we fear, that such a fleet can be rendered mutinous by any motions or speeches of Lord Cochrane, and, especially when, if these gentlemen's assertions be true, that fleet must know Lord Cochrane's speeches to be false ? Why, then, express apprehensions of *mischief* from those speeches ? What are you afraid of, good

men? What alarms you?—I must here notice the base conduct of the reporter of the COURIER news-paper towards Lord Cochrane. He begins his report thus: “Lord Cochrane rose to move for several papers, to prove that the manner in which the naval service was now conducted was disgusting to the officers and seamen, and highly injurious and dangerous to the country. He did not desire to cast the blame of this mal-administration on any individual. His object was to call the attention of his majesty's ministers to the subject, that the mischief may be corrected. The noble lord in the course of a detailed statement of grievances, *tho'* which we shall not follow him, otherwise than very generally, denied as his assertions were by those WHO WERE MOST COMPETENT to speak to the facts.”

—This, observe, at the very outset, in order to prejudice the reader against what followed. Now, it is right that the public should be apprized of the probable cause of this hostility against his lordship on the part of the London daily press. Just after he had announced his intention of being a candidate for Westminster, several of the editors of papers went to him, or wrote to him, asking for money as the price of the support which they offered him. He refused to give them a shilling; and they became, one and all, his bitter enemies; and such they will continue, unless he does give them money; but, I trust he will be honoured with their hatred as long as their venal souls shall inhabit their bodies — The conclusion of the debate was curious. I will insert it just as I find it in the Morning Post, though, in my DEBATES, it will be fully and fairly given.—“LORD COCHRANE rose to reply. As to the hon admiral (MARKHAM), he was a member of that board of which he complained, and as to his experience or his services, they had been much more conspicuous on shore than ever they had been at sea (*Cries of Order, Order.*) The hon. Admiral had staid at home and sent his particular friends, and those who had interest, to sea.—THE SPEAKER told the noble lord, that the last expression was quite beyond the bounds of order.—LORD COCHRANE continued his reply. He said that he had demanded a Court Martial for the accident that had happened to his ship, and it had been refused, for fear of implicating those who sent him out in an unfit condition. He detailed several other individual instances of hardship, such as officers and sailors not being allowed to

go on shore when in port. He had written to the Admiralty on other subjects, and either received a mere formal answer, or none at all.”—There was no division, the motion being negatived without, and with only one or two dissenting voices. —V. POOR LAWS. In a page below, the reader will find a letter to Mr. Whitbread upon this subject. The bills will, in all probability, not pass; and, it is of very little consequence, in my opinion, whether they do or not; for, I am morally certain, that they never can be carried into execution. The cause of the misery and immorality of the poor, is, the heavy taxes and their natural consequences. Remove the cause, and the effect will cease; but until the cause be removed, all remedies are vain. “Badges,” indeed! what will a badge do? It may make its wearer an object of ridicule, and that's all. The labouring people are not easily to be coaxed into content. They have much more sense than Mr. Whitbread seems to imagine; and, as they have, according to his opinion, grown worse and worse of late years, while education has been extending itself, what should make him suppose, that more education would make them better? No; it is a cancer in the body of the nation; to cure the patient you must cut it out; none of your anointing or plastering will do any good.—VI. WESTMINSTER ELECTION.—What may be the object of Mr. Sheridan in doing what is described in the following extract from the votes of the House of Commons, I shall not pretend to say; but, I think it right to put the thing upon record here, that we may hereafter refer to it.—

“A Petition of the right honourable Richard Brinsley Sheridan was read; setting forth, that, at the late election of members to serve in this present Parliament for the city and liberty of Westminster, lord Cochrane, sir Francis Burdett, bart. John Elliot, esq. James Paull, esq. and the petitioner, were candidates to represent the said city and liberty in Parliament; and that, at the said election, a poll was demanded and taken for the said candidates before Arthur Morris, esq. high bailiff and returning officer for the said city and liberty; and that, before and after the teste of the writ for the said election, the said lord Cochrane, by himself, and by his agents and managers, and others in his behalf, was guilty of gross and notorious bribery and corruption, and did, by gifts and rewards, and by promises, agreements, and securities for gifts and rewards, corrupt, procure, and attempt to procure, divers Electors of the said

" city and liberty, to give their votes at the said election for the said lord Cochrane, and to refuse and forbear to give their votes at the said election for the petitioner; and that the said lord Cochrane, by himself, his agents, and managers, and others on his behalf, after the teste of the writ for the said election, and at and during the said election, and before the election of the said lord Cochrane to serve in this present parliament for the said city and liberty, did give, present, and allow to divers persons having votes in such election, money, meat, drink, entertainment, and provision, and make presents, gifts, rewards, and entertainments, to and for such persons having votes in the said election, and to and for the use, advantage, benefit, emolument, profit, and preferment, of such persons, in order to be elected, and for being elected at the said election, to serve in this present parliament for the said city and liberty of Westminster; and that by the aforesaid corrupt and illegal practices, the said lord Cochrane procured himself to be returned as a member to serve in this present parliament for the said city and liberty at the said election for the said city and liberty; and the said Arthur Morris the said returning officer of the said city and liberty hath returned the said lord Cochrane as one of the persons duly elected to serve in this present parliament for the said city and liberty; whereas by the corrupt and illegal practices aforesaid, the said election and return of the said lord Cochrane was and is entirely null and void, to all intents and purposes; and he, the said lord Cochrane, is disabled and incapacitated, upon the said election and return, to serve in parliament for the said city and liberty; and the said election and return of the said lord Cochrane was and is contrary to law, a manifest violation of the rights and privileges of the electors of the said city and liberty, and highly injurious to the petitioner and the legal electors of the said city and liberty; and therefore praying that the house will take the premises into consideration, and declare the election and return of the said lord Cochrane void, and to grant such other relief to the petitioner as to the house shall seem most meet."

SIR HENRY MILDWAY.—In another part of this sheet I have inserted the two letters to Sir Henry Mildmay, from two of the Moulsham-Hall jury. The reader will see, that they were written for by Sir Henry

Mildmay himself! Why did he not write to all the jurors?—I will only add, at present, that the reader has nothing to do, but to compare the assertion of these jurors with the *oath* of Sir Henry Mildmay himself.

MR. PERRY.—This gentleman has published the following article, in his newspaper, as a vindication of himself against what he calls my misrepresentations.—“ The wilful and continued misrepresentations, by a weekly Journalist, of the nature of the appointment held some time ago by Mr. Perry, requires to be noticed on account of its malignity. On the establishment of a Commission for investigating the Accounts of the Barrack Department, to which the Auditors of Military Accounts had forcibly drawn the attention of Government, Mr. Perry was appointed Secretary to the Board, a situation which was certainly not a sinecure, nor was ever so called by Mr. Canning. It was a confidential employment which required from six to seven hours attendance daily, and which he undertook *from the hope of usefully serving the public* in a matter to which he had particularly turned his thoughts, and in the idea that it would be a task of short duration. As soon, however, as the magnitude and extent of the service became known to him, he found that he could not devote the necessary time, which a faithful discharge of the duties of the situation required, and he intimated his desire to relinquish it, long before there was any rumour of a change in his Majesty’s Councils. He remained long enough, however, to know that the public will have just reason to be satisfied with the result of the investigation. Whether a laborious trust of this nature, can be truly said to deprive a man of his independence, or that the salary can be called a boon, he leaves without a word of comment on the sarcasms of Mr. Cobbett, to the candid opinion of the public.”—Now, what did I ever say, touching this matter? I said, that it was from “sheer zeal to serve his distressed country, that Mr. Perry accepted of this place.” If, indeed, I had said, that, before he obtained this place, he almost worried poor Mr. Fox out of his existence; if I had said, that, after being refused the place of Gazette-publisher, or writer, he discovered many other places that would suit him; if I had said, that his charges of *ingratitude* against the Whigs were loud and constant, until he got a place; if I had said this, there might have been some colour for his charge of malignity.

against me; but, I never said this, I only said that he was in *the regiment*; I only said, that, from the moment he entered the regiment, he began to rail against "ja-cobins and levellers," that he joined John Bowles in clamouring for "regular government, social order, and our holy religion," and that, the moment he was out of full regimental pay, he began to attack and strip and expose every part of the establishment. This was all I said. I never said, that the clerks of the Treasury knew his step upon the stairs and in the dark passages as well as a citizen knows the sound of St. Paul's clock. I never said, that the porters at Mr. Fox's office took him, at last, for a piece of the wainscot, and were actually going to hang their hats upon his nose. All that I said was, that he sought a place and obtained one; and that his paper immediately became a vehicle of adulation of all those, who had, no matter by what means, possessed themselves of the powers of the state; and, I further said, that, the moment he lost his place, he reverted to his former sentiments and language.—This I said; this I *proved*; and, of what use are his wailings? Let him say frankly, that he is sorry he ever entered the Regiment, that he is resolved never to do it again; and then he shall have my acknowledgement, that he may be a man fit to have influence over a print, which has always, since I knew any thing of it, been conducted with unequalled ability. But, if he sets up a *justification* for uniting the calling of public writer with that of place-man, he will always find an opponent in me.—I was, I will freely confess, more stung at his disgracing the profession, than at his political infidelity. To see a man, having the absolute command of such a print as the Morning Chronicle, through the means of which he was able to sway the minds of hundreds of thousands of people, descend to become, nay, seek to become, an associate and fellow-labourer with Secretaries of the Treasury, was what I could not bear with patience, and I resented it cordially. As, however, I regard his present notice in the light of an acknowledgement of his error, I forgive him, for my part, and shall not desire to revive the remembrance of what is passed.

"*Delicate Investigation*" must wait another week.

COBBETT'S Parliamentary History OF ENGLAND

From the Norman Conquest in 1066, to the Year 1803. From which last mentioned period it is continued downwards in the work entitled "Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates."—*.* The Second Volume of the above Work, comprising the Period from the Accession of Charles the First in 1625, to the Battle of Edge-hill in 1642, is ready for delivery.—Vol. III. comprising the Period from the Battle of Edge-hill in 1642, to the Restoration of Charles the Second, in 1660, is in considerable forwardness, and will be published on the first of December next.

POOR LAWS.

To Samuel Whitbread, Esq.

SIR,—In the Morning Herald newspaper of the 10th inst. you are reported to say, "that at the time when you first brought forward the Poor Bill it met with considerable opposition in the house, and from a quarter from which you did not expect it would have met with opposition. But, you must say, that from the opportunities which the late general election had afforded you of viewing the lower classes of society, and nothing afforded a better opportunity for such a purpose than a general election, you were more than ever confirmed in your opinion that instruction is the best boon which the people can receive." As I did oppose this bill, if my weak endeavours to fix your attention on the unconquerable (*by the poor*) causes of their poverty and wretchedness can merit the name of opposition, I may probably belong to the quarter from which it met with this unexpected opposition. On this presumption, I think it a duty which I owe to the poor, to myself, and to my country, to vindicate my opposition, while there is a chance left to such opposition, to avert the delusive operations and fatal consequences of any bill *like yours*, which does not go to the root of those evils that no exertions of the poor, however educated, can root out, nor even lop, before it goes to correct such as may arise from ignorance of letters. From this observation, and presuming that you

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have observed my notions of those evils and their remedy, as they appeared in the Political Register of March 21st, May 30th, and June 6th, you will perceive that my opposition to your bill, is not founded upon a belief that instruction is *not a boon* to those who receive it, but on conviction that it is not the *best boon* which the people can receive in the present embarrassed circumstances of their pecuniary affairs. On the contrary, I have gone farther in defence of education than fact, I am now willing to believe, can bear me out; namely, that none could oppose its progress, but those who wished to monopolise the advantages which knowledge gives over ignorance. I know now that I had then judged harshly. Mr. Wm. Randall, 204, High Holborn, whose inestimable "Warning Voice," I hope you have, by this time, got by heart, opposes the education of the poor upon a ground which all the sufferings I have seen or felt throughout life never suggested to me; namely, that it makes the pains of political oppression more poignant than otherwise they would be. I grant it; I lament it; and I would prevent it if I could. But, when we consider the advantages of education, in surmounting all the surmountable evils of this life, or in teaching us resignation under them when they cannot be surmounted, do I labour under an error in holding, that its advantages far outbalance its evils? But, to return. Though "man wants but little here, and not that little long," still my feelings tell me that food, raiment, and ease sufficient to support health and prolong life, is the best boon which the people can receive; my eyes inform me that a real want of these is the great first cause of complaint with the poor; and I am convinced by my reason, that were they to receive university education, it would not enable them to preserve for their own use a single grain weight of the food and raiment, which the tax-gatherers *by virtue of law*; the monopolizers, *by virtue of their right to do as they please with their own property*; and the idlers, *in virtue of custom*, pull out of their mouths and tear from off their backs. Nay, that, if it could enable them to create more of both, it could not enable them to consume more of either, because the cravings of these their devourers are insatiable. On the principle, however, that there are more ways than one of doing a thing, I may be mistaken. Education, it is true, enables the poor to understand better their own rights and duties, and as they see these more clearly, so they are more disposed to *revert to the constitution*. If you mean, Sir, instruc-

tion to be the best boon, as it *tends to produce this effect*, I have to beg your pardon for all I have said, or may say, in opposition to your bill, for, I believe you are correct. But, then, we are as far apart otherwise as ever. I disagree with you completely as to the application of the boon, in this round about way of coming at the object, because I prefer infinitely, that *government* should straightforwardly *revert to the constitution*, than that the people, by any means, should do it themselves, in opposition to the government. The people can do it; but, I would prefer that it should be done by their rulers; because the people generally wade through a great deal of misery before they accomplish their object themselves. The history of the world proves indeed, that these miseries *can lose their terrors*, and that death in any other shape is better than that of dying by inches in hopeless expectations. When government, then, does that which requires nothing to do it with but *the will*; when *taxation, monopoly, and idleness* are brought down, by the gentle and parental hand of law to that level which will leave the necessary portion of food, raiment, and ease within the reach of industry; *then instruct the people*, and for the best of all possible purposes; namely, to enable them to guard by every possible means against the future return of these great causes of their wretchedness, misery, and vice. *Suspicious*, Sir, as your views may appear from your opposition to Sir Francis Burdett, and the circumstance of your having neglected to bring forward your motion for an inquiry into the state of the nation while your party were ministers, and *therefore*, could carry any measure in parliament it is generally thought, at least said; (still I am unwilling to believe that you are guilty of double dealing on the subject of the poor;) that your object is popularity on the hollow basis of public delusion; that the advantages of monopoly which completely shields you against the disadvantages of taxation warp your judgment, steel your heart, and blind your eyes to their effect upon the condition of the poor; but it confounds me, and all those, with me, who think seriously upon the subjects of evils and their remedy, that any man who is qualified to legislate for a nation should think of sending the children to school, as a remedy for the evils of taxation, &c. &c. while these very evils deprive the parents of power to supply them with a whole breakfast, of the coarsest of food, before they go out in the morning; or, that he should hold out no prospect of relief for the parents until the education of the children

removes those evils which do not arise from their want of instruction; but from causes over which their learning can have no controul. Is it possible, Sir, that the people can mistake these to be the principles of your plan? If it is not, depend upon it, Sir, that if, in their unguarded moments they should give you any credit for virtue and talents, it will be but of a short duration should you succeed in your scheme. Therefore, if you be truly anxious to live and die in public esteem; if you be really serious in your desire to mend the manners of the lower classes of the people, at general elections, and every where else, you must remove those evils which learning cannot reach, and enable them to eat and drink before you learn them to read and write.—C. S.—*July, 13, 1807.*

NEW FINANCE PLAN.

SIR,—Parliament being again assembled, and the subject of the public Finances about to come under its consideration, you will probably think some observations on the New Plan of Finance by lord Henry Petty not altogether out of season. In submitting the following remarks to you for publication in your Register, my chief object is to put the merits of the proposed Plan in a different and more familiar light than any in which, hitherto, it has been viewed: for, although many have disapproved of the new system, and although the result of different calculations (lord Henry Petty's own as well as lord Castle-reagh's) appear to me to justify the fullest measure of disapprobation, yet no calculations, which I have met with, have aimed at precisely pointing out, wherein the principle of the new system is objectionable. This, however, I think highly expedient to be done, in order that we may trace, step by step, the action of the principle of this scheme to its ultimate, as I conceive, necessarily ruinous effects.—I ought, perhaps, to observe to you, that our political opinions are not in every respect the same, particularly as to the general merits of the late administration; and that, on this very question, the principle which I mean to insist upon as shewing the ruinous nature of the new plan, is the reverse of that on which you appeared once partially to approve of it, “because ‘for three blessed years,’ we were promised no increase of taxation.” It is, Sir, because a country, opposed to an enemy so powerful as ours, must keep on foot a proportionate military establishment, which cannot be maintained but by the produce of commensurate taxation; because the pro-

duce of the present taxes in England, how enormous soever they may be, is short of the actual expenditure of the country, and to shrink from raising the actual expenditure within the year leads to the inevitable necessity of laying on *heavier* taxes in the end; and because the new plan of lord Henry Petty does not extend, or act up to what was already adopted of the principle of raising the supplies within the year, but falls back from raising even the interest of the expenditure (for it takes only the interest of the interest); it is for these reasons, that I consider the Plan, as a temporary expedient by no means to be recurred to, and as a permanent system, speedily destructive. Whatever room may exist for reform in the expenditure of the public money, (and on the necessity of reform I go with you to the full extent of all your reasonings) no man can be sanguine enough to suppose, that, with our existing military and naval establishments undiminished, a sum of 11 millions annually could be saved, so as to render further taxes or loans unnecessary. It is plain that 11 millions yearly, of additional taxes, or loans, are required to complete our actual expenditure, and if our necessary expenditure be not short of our actual expenditure by 11 millions, it is evident, that to raise within the year our necessary expenditure calls for additional taxation.—Now, Sir, I would make some observations on the pure Funding System; I speak in contradistinction to the system of raising one per cent. to create a Sinking Fund, and the new Plan of lord Henry Petty. The pure funding system, it is well known, consists, not in raising the supplies of the year in taxes, but in borrowing the supplies, and levying taxes only for payment of interest of the sum borrowed. This practice is professedly adopted for avoiding the evils of taxation. But what are ultimately its necessary consequences? Let us suppose a country perfectly free from debt, whose annual expenditure is 20 millions, and that it adopts the funding system in its full extent, and borrows at a fair average interest of 5 per cent. It is manifest that, in a period of 20 years, the taxes levied for payment of interest will be 20 millions, or equal to the whole expenditure, while the supply of the 21st year will remain wholly to be provided for. In 40 years from the adoption of the system, the taxes levied for payment of interest will amount to 40 millions, or double the annual expenditure, while the supply of the 41st year will remain wholly to be provided for: and these will have been the consequence of a system adopted for avoid-

ing the evils of taxation. It is clear, that for a country to have persevered in such a system 20 years, its power of yearly contribution, that is to say of raising taxes, supposing it to have continued the same during the whole period, must have been originally equal to the whole yearly expenditure; to have persevered in such a system 40 years, its power of contribution must have amounted to double its yearly expenditure; and to have persevered in it 60 years its power of contribution must have been treble the yearly expenditure. And, Sir, regarding these the immediate effects of funding, what shall not be said of a system, which by its direct operation, drains a country of its whole resources in 20 years, if in the beginning, its resources were equal to its expenditure; in 40 years, if in the beginning its resources were double its expenditure; and in 60 years, if in the beginning, its resources were treble its expenditure? These which are immediate and inevitable effects of funding are *prima facie* evidence of its evils: if we should be told that funding directly or indirectly extends the national industry, and augments the sources of revenue, it will be sufficiently in time, to inquire, whether in fact it is attended with such benefits in a sufficient degree to compensate for the evils of its immediate operation, or with such benefits at all, when the arguments in support of the assertion shall have been advanced. Sir, correspondent with the effects which I have stated directly result from the funding system, are the consequences which we have witnessed to flow from its operation in England. Not, indeed, that in England, or that I know of in any country, has the system brought the government to so full a stop, to so complete an incapacity for all further exertion, as I have stated to be the natural issue of funding, when in any country it has been persisted in till its powers of life are exhausted, till the system, if I may so phrase it, dies of old age. But this does not prove that my propositions are unfounded, or that the life of the funding system can possibly be prolonged beyond the dates, which I have assigned to it under ascertained situations of a country with respect to its power of contribution. Though in England funding has been practised for many years, yet it has been with frequent, and formerly long intermissions. Large sums were paid off by a sinking fund in the time of Sir Robert Walpole. Besides, funding was never, till Mr. Pitt's war of the revolution, adopted to so great an extent as in that war. Another cause why it has been possible to act upon

it with intermissions to the extent which has really taken place, is that, within the last 40 years, extraordinary improvements have been made in the productive powers of industry in various of the most important branches of manufactures, and in the formation of canals and other public undertakings; by means of which improvements the power of raising taxes has been greatly augmented. A further advantage also as to raising a *nominally* larger revenue has arisen out of the reduction of the real value of our coin. This has operated to render easy a nominal increase of taxation, because the possessor of the same quantity of real wealth as before has a larger sum of *pounds* and *shillings*; the owner of a bushel of wheat is worth 10*s.* or 11*s.* instead of 6*s.* or 7*s.*, a journeyman mechanic earns perhaps 30*s.* instead of 20*s.* per week, and therefore, they can contribute more *shillings* or *pounds* than before, but only the same real value. But another consequence of the reduction in the value of money is, that those, who were stockholders before the reduction, receiving in payment of interest only the *same* number of pounds and *shillings* in truth receive smaller dividends than formerly. So was the pay to the soldiers and sailors of diminished value, till the late augmentations of pay. Now all these agents have assisted to prolong the possible duration of the funding system, either by increasing the power of raising taxes, or lessening the real amount of the contributions called for. All the foregoing causes have co-operated to preserve England from being, hitherto, rendered incapable of all exertion; but they do not shew, that as far as the system has operated, we have not evidence from the existing situation of our finances, that the consequences of funding are such as I have stated them to be.—We now pay for the interest of debt incurred by funding about 28 millions. Let us direct our attention to that period in which the system was most extensively acted upon, namely, the war of Mr. Pitt, and see how much of this sum grew out of funding during a given period of that war. From a Table marked B 3, accompanying Lord Henry Petty's Plan of Finance*, it appears that, in nine years from 1794 to 1803 both inclusive, "the money capital of debt created" was £212,564,745, the interest of which sum, supposing the average rate of interest actually paid (but it was more) to have been five per cent., is £10,628,237. Thus in

* See Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 8, Appendix.

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nine years the English nation was burthened by the funding system with ten millions and a half of permanent taxes, besides other taxes to create and feed a 1 per cent. sinking fund in the capital borrowed; and seeing that funding has, in nine years, imposed and absorbed 10 millions and a half of taxes, the supporters of the system may perhaps admit, that, in 36 years, with the like rate of expenditure and interest, funding would absorb 42 millions of permanent taxes. The consequences which would attend such an increase of taxation it is needless to insist upon; they would, however, be the immediate consequences of this not a *speculative* but an adopted system, and one which was really acted upon to the extent required towards such an augmentation of burthens for nine years. Let us keep in mind that the taxes already raised for payment of interest amount to 28 millions. We at present raise within the year towards the expenditure £27,700,000, namely land and malt £2,750,000, surplus of consolidated fund £3,500,000, lottery £450,000, and war taxes £21,000,000. Eleven millions, which make up the whole expenditure (being £38,700,000), are proposed to be raised by loans. From this statement the country, at the present moment, appears to be extricated more than two thirds out of the funding system, and the present operation of that system of course to be proportionally diminished. But, to put the effects of funding in the clearest point of view, let it this year and henceforward be acted upon for raising the whole of the supplies. The taxes in such case (bating the 28 millions for interest of the present debt) would for the current year be only £1,935,000; and how glorious a thing (might the advocates of funding urge) would be the repeal at one stroke of £25,765,000, taxes! which might be the case, supposing the loan of £38,700,000, to be negotiated at 5 per cent interest. But following the plan 20 years, what would the taxes for interest of loans amount to, no part of the coming year's expenditure being provided for? why £38,700,000, and in 40 years to £77,400,000, which could be demonstrated by a mere vulgar arithmetic school boy: and this sum added to our existing 28 millions of taxes for payment of interest would make the whole of the taxes levied on account of the national debt in the fortieth year from the present time £105,400,000, the expenditure of the forty first year remaining to be provided for. Such would be the consequence of abandoning at the present moment the plan

of raising any part of the supplies within the year; this of course is to be understood, if funding could so long be persevered in, but which the sum itself shews would be an impossibility. I think no man will contend that the produce of the labour of this country could maintain the labourers and contribute £105,400,000 yearly to support others in idleness. For it is to be remembered, so far from the creditors of the government, the stockholders *qua* stockholders employing industry with their imaginary capital, that on the contrary, if their demands on the government be obstinately and absurdly called a part of the *capital* of the country, they necessarily keep so much of the capital of the country unemployed and wholly unproductive: because if the owner of £100,000 stock, is determined to employ his capital in some branch of productive labour, he can only so employ it by getting rid of his stock and converting it into money, but the £100,000 stock has only changed hands, the seller becomes master of so much real capital to be employed in a branch of productive industry, while the former owner of this capital is become a stockholder. But, Sir, it is the yearly produce of the national industry, which can alone permanently be taken for defraying the expences of each year; if more than the produce of the year be taken after the necessary fund of subsistence of the labourers is subtracted, the principal is broken in upon, and the annual produce of industry (the productiveness of labour continuing the same) is yearly diminishing, which is a diminution of the sources of revenue.— If the providing for the whole public expenditure by means of loans would lead to the foregoing results, the borrowing of 11 millions to defray so much of the expenditure would lead to similar results. If the interest of the loans of 11 millions should average 5 per cent. for 20 years from the present time, the taxes for payment of interest would be 11 millions and by going on at the same rate 40 years they would amount to 22 millions. Now, possibly, many may be found ready to acknowledge the unsoundness of principle and ruinous consequences of raising the whole supply of £38,700,000 by loans, who will yet refuse to acknowledge raising eleven millions by loans to be equally unsound in principle and equally of ruinous consequence. If there be such men, supposing the power of additional contribution by the country equal to 11 millions annually, and to continue the same, they contend for the wisdom of a plan which in the short period of 20 years shall exhaust and absorb

the whole power of additional contribution beyond the present taxes, and leave the country in the 21st year of its operation, altogether incapable of supplying interest of the sum to be borrowed in that year; and yet the country will be burthened with the same amount of taxes, which, if laid on at the present time, would defray the same expenditure for ever. Supposing the resources of the country not equal to the contribution of 11 millions additional taxes, but of $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions, that is a reason, why our establishments and consequent expenditure should be curtailed so much; and not a reason, why we should continue an expenditure and system of finance, which, in 10 years, would absorb the whole power of contribution, and, as to 11 millions of the expenditure, leave the country in the 11th year without the funds for payment of interest even. But supposing the resources of the country equal to the contribution of 22 millions of additional taxes, the levying of 11 millions at the present time would be so much the more easy; and although the interest of funding 11 millions yearly might be provided for 40 years, yet at that period taxes for payment of interest would be double the taxes required now to be imposed for defraying the same expenditure for ever. Of the funding system I shall only further observe, that the radical evils such as I have described, have been in a small degree diminished since the year 1793 by the creating a sinking fund of one per cent. on most of the different loans negotiated since that period, but, in the mean time, and until the loans are redeemed, the weight of taxes is thereby aggravated.—Having now, Sir, stated what I had to observe on the system of borrowing money, and merely laying on taxes for the payment of its interest, I shall proceed to consider what is the proposed principle of borrowing in the system of Lord Henry Petty, and wherein it differs from the former, and is more objectionable; and to trace its results as stated in Lord Henry Petty's and lord Castlereagh's Tables, from the operation of its vicious principle. The £6,700,000 raised by the ordinary taxes towards the expenditure of the year, have been laid out of the case in the different tables, and the expenditure taken to be £32,000,000. To complete this sum 11 millions are required over and above 21 millions war taxes. To compare the respective merits of the two modes of borrowing, all aid from expiring annuities and the established sinking fund should be laid out of the calculations; because, it is obvious, the resources which they afford are independent of the

terms of any future borrowing of money. They are funds which do or will compose a part of our property; and any question to be raised with respect to devoting them to the payment of interest of any loans, can relate only to the expediency of paying interest with those funds, and not to the advantage or disadvantage of the terms on which the money, whose interest they are proposed to pay, may have been borrowed. Every thing has been done in Lord Henry Petty's tables to make the machinery of his plan cumbrous and intricate, and thereby to increase the difficulty of ascertaining what will be the real rate of interest paid for the sums raised. But, Sir, it appears that a given sum of money each year will be borrowed, the interest for which we are to provide out of the war taxes, together with another sum equal to the interest of the loan (supposing it to be 5 per cent., which I will assume for the sake of perspicuity) to operate as a sinking fund of the loan; but a further sum is to be *borrowed*; for what? *to replace that taken from the war taxes.* Why then, Sir, we may put the war taxes out of the case, as to the supposition of the war taxes paying the interest and furnishing a sinking fund for the loan, and consider the *second* sum which is borrowed, as borrowed to pay the interest and create a sinking fund of the first loan. Now for this sum interest is to be provided by means of taxes, that is to say, taxes are levied to pay *the interest of the interest* of the loan for the service of the year, and of a sum which is intended to operate as a sinking fund. What are the effects of this mode of borrowing? The loan is 12 millions, the interest for which at 5 per cent. is £600,000. I will keep the consideration of the interest and sinking fund separate. The first year the sum of £600,000 interest is borrowed, to pay the interest of which interest £30,000 taxes are imposed. In the 2d year another £600,000 is borrowed for payment of interest of the former year's loan, and £30,000 more of taxes are levied for payment of interest of the second £600,000. A third sum of £600,000 is borrowed the third year for the same purpose, and a third sum of £30,000 taxes levied for payment of its interest; making in three years the sum paid or debt incurred for the interest of a loan of twelve millions to be £1,980,000, or £180,000 more than 5 per cent. In fourteen years £3,150,000 will have been paid on account of interest over and above the common rate of 5 per cent., the whole sum paid or debt incurred being at that period £11,550,000. Supposing, at the expiration of 14 years, the practice of borrowing the in-

terest to be given up, and the whole to be raised in taxes, the amount of taxes will be £1,020,000, namely, the common interest of 5 per cent. £600,000, interest of sums borrowed to pay interest £420,000. Or, should the practice be persevered in 20 years, *twelve hundred thousand pounds* permanent taxes will be required for a loan of £12,000,000 originally received. The same process will take place under the loans raised in every succeeding year. Thus it appears that the amount of taxes necessary to be imposed under the new plan, or of debt incurred on account of interest, will, in the twentieth year from raising any particular loan, be double as much as under common funding, that is to say, borrowing and raising taxes within the year for payment of the interest. This notable expedient, with all its machinery of war loans and supplementary loans, and one per cent. sinking funds on supplementary loans and five per cent. sinking funds on war loans, and raising the first year a smaller supplementary loan than is the proportion of other years, and sagacious Tables to shew how much may be diverted out of the existing sinking fund, and calculations on the rise and fall of consols, and money capital of debt, and nominal capital, turns out to be either the offspring of imbecillity, or at best a cunning juggle to conceal the amount of interest really to be paid for the sums borrowed, which interest is manifestly *compound interest*. And at compound interest it has been proposed, and acceded to by the British legislature, to raise loans of twelve, fourteen, and sixteen millions yearly for 20 years!—We will next consider the second sum of £600,000, which is borrowed for creating a sinking fund of the first year's loan. For the interest of this £600,000 as well as the former, £30,000 taxes will be imposed. The object of this scheme is to redeem the loan in 14 years, *to free the public of a debt of 12 millions*. But how will it effect its object? how will it free the nation of a debt of 12 millions? To effect its object in 14 years, fourteen several sums of £600,000 will have been borrowed, that is to say, *another* debt of £8,400,000 will have been created! Upon the £8,400,000 so borrowed, should the 3 per cent. consols have continued at 60, the public will have received a compound interest amounting to £3,600,000. But, during the same period, the nation will have been paying in taxes, or otherwise,* interest on the 14 sums of £600,000 borrowed, which at 5 per cent. in 14 years will be £3,150,000. These

taxes, moreover, (or what is the same thing, these sums taken from our property the sinking fund) will have been advanced in certain instalments every year, £30,000 the first year, £60,000 the second year, £90,000 the third year, and so on; so that, if, at the times of advancing the same, these sums had been invested in the funds, a compound interest would have accrued on them by the expiration of the fourteenth year, precisely enough to make up £3,600,000, the amount of compound interest received by the public on the fourteen sums of £600,000 borrowed. Hence it appears, that the real decrease of debt will be only £3,600,000, and, to work this decrease, £3,150,000 will have been actually advanced at such times and in such proportions, that, by investing them in the funds at the times of advancing the same, a compound interest would have been received sufficient to make up £3,600,000, the sum discharged: the *borrowing* part of the transaction therefore yields *no profit*, while the expenses of management are a dead loss to the public. I have stated the proposed mode of redeeming the loans to be as above, for the purpose of simplifying the consideration of it; but, in the scheme of Lord Henry Petty, 1 per cent. on the supplementary sums borrowed is proposed to be raised in addition to the charges to be incurred for the purposes above stated. But this 1 per cent. does not diminish or alter the sums, such as I have stated, to be really paid for discharging the original loans; and indeed it should only be considered as a sinking fund on the new debt of £8,400,000. It is unnecessary to remark, that the same plan will operate on every loan to be raised. Such is the new mode of discharging debts, said to be invented by Lord Henry Petty! It is astonishing that the mind of man should have conceived and brought forth with so much toil such a complex organised abortion—Sir, the results of the new scheme, as contained in Lord H. Petty's own Tables, are conformable to what might be expected from its destructive principle of operation. will not tire myself or you, or obscure what it is my object to elucidate, by attempting minutely to reconcile my statements with the numerous and (I dare say) accurate tables of Lord H. Petty; but shall content myself with setting down one or two of the most striking, or, if I may so express myself, *staring* results contained in those tables. These, it is stated, will be the results supposing the 3 per cent. consols to continue at 60. They will not demonstrate the principle of action, which I have assigned to the new scheme, to be the true one; but

* Namely, by diverting the sinking fund.

they will be rather confirmatory of it than otherwise, by shewing the principle must be one equally ruinous and to be dreaded. The first of the results which I shall notice, is, that, for the advantages of a loan of 11 millions annually for 20 years (for the plan only proposes to compleat a supply of £32,000,000, which would be effected by an annual loan of £11,000,000,) the public in 1826 will pay a yearly charge of £14,326,300 *, and 21 millions war taxes, the charge on war taxes decreasing every year, till in 14 years from 1826 they will be set free. The charge for the same aids under the late mode of funding would have amounted to £14,666,660 leaving the war taxes untouched. The Tables of Lord H. Petty stop at the year 1826, very luckily for his lordship's plan, because, if they had been continued 10 years longer, the annual charge of the new system, independently of the mortgage on war taxes, would be found above three millions more than under the late system. A second result appears to be, that the former mode of providing for the proposed expenditure, would make the total of the national debt in the commencement of the year 1826 [Table N] £270,443,305, but under the new scheme it will be [Table N] £455,537,932, being a larger increase under the new system of £185,094,627. A third result of the tables is, that by the new plan after the year 1819, the loans will continually be 32 millions, under the old system they would continue at 11 millions. But not a syllable of apprehension is expressed by Lord H. Petty with regard to the effect, which borrowing so enormous a sum annually, must have on the market price of interest, and consequently the terms of the loans, even allowing the confidence in the government to be unabated. It should be observed, that the above results appear so disadvantageous, when compared with the system of raising the supplies of late years acted upon. But, I have already shewn the great and radical evil of funding *at all*; and Lord H. Petty's plan being so much more improvident and ruinous than the old system, it follows that his is by so much a greater evil. ——I shall make no further observations on the merits of the new plan itself; but, if we search after the motive which led to the proposal of it, we shall find only one adequate cause; namely, a want of courage to make

* Namely, new taxes [Table C] £2,051,000, expiring annuities [Table C] £615,515, sinking fund diverted [Table D] £11,059,685. See Appendix to Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 8, for the whole of the Tables.

further progress towards raising the supplies within the year, and congratulated the country on the advantages already felt from the extent to which it had been pushed, at the very moment he was proving *recreant* to the principle, totally abandoning all further progress in it; and, instead thereof, proposing to raise within the year, not the interest of the sum borrowed, but the interest of the interest; thereby making the public pay compound instead of simple interest, and turning against our resources with respect to all loans henceforward to be raised, the same principle of operation, which in the established sinking fund has hitherto worked so powerfully in our favour. I have said my opinions, Mr. Cobbett, are different from yours in this respect, that I think the restoration of the late ministry is, on the whole, highly desirable; but, if they shall not be able to find amongst them an abler financier than the author of the system proposed by Lord H. Petty, they had better apply to me to be their Chancellor of the Exchequer.—A. G.—July 6, 1807.

POLICE MAGISTRATES.

SIR,—As the act appointing police magistrates, will expire in November next; and it is understood, a bill is to be brought very soon into parliament, to continue the present system; allow me, Mr. Cobbett, to call your attention to the necessity of preventing police magistrates from attending, and acting at the sessions. Their names are, as a matter of course, inserted, not only in the commissions of the peace for Middlesex and Westminster, but for the counties of Surrey, Essex, and Kent; this may be necessary, but they ought not to intrude themselves at the quarter sessions of those counties; not many years ago, there was a contest for the office of treasurer of the county of Surrey; on that occasion, police magistrates of all descriptions interfered, to the extreme disgust of the country gentlemen. But, Sir, independently of the impropriety of such interference, it is improper and alarming, that persons appointed, paid by, and removable, at the pleasure of the crown, should act, much more *preside*, at the sessions of those counties where their offices are situated; their so doing not only weakens (I might say, destroys) the benefit of an appellant jurisdiction, but lessens the magistracy in the eyes of the people. At the Middlesex sessions, I have witnessed police magistrates *exclusively* occupying the bench; and frequently they constitute a *great majority* of the attending magistrates; indeed, the inevitable consequence of their

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attendance must be, the *undisputed* powers of the bench. In a neighbouring county, a police magistrate, not only continues to act as *chairman of the sessions* for one of the districts, but, until the county interfered, did, at times *preside at the sessions, in the very district where his office was situated*, and to which sessions *appeals from his acts* must come, and where persons whom he had committed, and against whom he must have received *ex parte* evidence, were to be tried. Surely, Sir, these circumstances call for a remedy? Mr. Sheridan, during the Westminster election, promised much to reform the magistracy; but since the parliament met, we have not heard one word from that *man of promise* on the subject: if he is sincere he will attend to the subject of this letter; the grievance is felt, and resented by the magistrates of this, and the neighbouring counties, and needs only to be mentioned to be understood.—A KENTISH MAGISTRATE.—Maidstone, July 4.

SIR H. MILDWELL.

Supplement to a Memorial, presented the 8th July 1807, to the Commissioners of Military Enquiry, by Sir Henry Paulet St. John Mildmay, Baronet.

To the Commissioners of Military Enquiry.
Gentlemen;—I beg leave to add to the Memorial, which I had the honour to present to your Board on Monday last, the two following Letters; by way of Supplement. They reached me since that time, and were communicated by General Strutt, Foreman of the Jury who met to award me compensation, on the 18th of August 1804; and by Sir W. Hillary, who was also on the Jury. In awarding the sum of £1,300 for the first year, it appears that the Jury took into consideration the expences of the Inquest, which are stated, on the oath of the under Sheriff, at £250; and they also included the expence of levelling the works, and restoring the land occupied by them to a state fit for cultivation, whenever government should give up possession, and return the land to the proprietor. Messrs. Wood and Mason, two persons accustomed to value lands in Essex, declared on their oaths, that the cost would amount to 35s. per rod; and as the length of the ditch, by measurement, proved 400 rods, the Jury awarded £700 for it. By this award, government is exonerated from any future claim for that purpose—I have the honour to be, &c.—(Signed)—H. P. S. MILDWELL, July 8. 1807.

No. I.—*Copy of a Letter from General Strutt, Foreman of the Jury, to Sir H. P.*

St. John Mildmay, Bart. dated July 5, 1807, Terling Place.—Dear Sir, It gives me much pleasure to be able to answer your Queries; and in a manner which, I have no doubt, will be perfectly acceptable to yourself.—Query 1. “In the compensation awarded “to me, for the substantial damages and “inconveniences which I had, or might “sustain from the Military Works, did “you mean to include the rent of Moul- “sham Hall Gardens, Gardener’s House, “and sixteen Acres adjoining?” Answer, “Certainly not.”—Query 2. “Did you “mean to restrain me from using my house “for any purpose I might choose, after “passing your verdict?” Answer, “Cer- “tainly not.”—Query 3. “Did you mean “to prohibit me from letting the house or “to make any alteration in the compensa- “tion awarded me, whether I did or not?” Answer, “Certainly not?” (Signed) Wm. Godhay Strutt, Foreman.

No. 2.—*Copy of a Letter from Sir W. Hillary, Bart. one of the Jury, to Sir Henry Paulet St. John Mildmay, Bart. Dated July 3, 1807.*—Dear Sir, Upon consideration of the circumstances which took place at the time of the Jury (of which I was one) giving their Award, as to the nature and extent of the injury which your property near Chelmsford had sustained by the formation of Military Works upon it, I perfectly recollect that the sum of £1,300 was awarded by us as a compensation for the injury done when those works were erected, for the expences of the Inquest (amounting to £250), and to cover the future charge of again filling up the works, and levelling the ground, when it should no longer be occupied by government. We also fixed a future rent of £600 per annum, to be paid by government, for about 30 acres of land which the works occupied, as a compensation for those lands, and the great injury which your estate had thereby sustained; and not as a rent for your house of Moulsham Hall, and its immediate grounds, &c. which was by no means the intention of the Jury. On the contrary, we were at the time aware, that you had a separate treaty with government for your house, which we did not enter into, or interfere with, as we considered the house to remain your own, either for residence, to let, or for any other purpose you might choose; and our award was given as a compensation for the injury which your estate sustained by the occupation of part of it; and this point I am clearly of opinion was expressly understood, and acted upon by the Jury.—I am &c. (Signed)—WILLIAM HILLARY.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPER.

VOLUNTEERS.—*Circular Letter from Lord Hawkebury to the Lords Lieutenant of Counties, dated Whitehall, April 25th 1807.*

My Lord;—His Majesty being impressed with the most favourable opinion of the value and importance of the Volunteer Force of the United Kingdom, of the good order and discipline of a considerable proportion of them, and of the zeal and alacrity which they have all invariably manifested, on every occasion in which their services have been required, is desirous of affording to them every encouragement, which a due consideration of the other branches of the military service, and an attention to public economy, will permit.—He has, therefore, commanded me to acquaint you, for the information of the different Volunteer Corps within your County, that it is his intention to propose to Parliament, that the pay and allowance, settled for the Yeomanry Cavalry and Volunteer Infantry and Artillery, by the Regulations of July, 1806, and which were intended at that time to be granted to those men only who had been enrolled antecedently to the 24th of July, 1806, should, in future, be extended to all Volunteers, who may have been enrolled subsequent to that period, or who may be enrolled hereafter, provided the respective establishments of Volunteer Corps be not thereby exceeded.—His Majesty entertains the most sanguine hopes, that the adoption of this measure will have the effect of preventing the gradual decline of the Yeomanry and Volunteer Corps, and that it will furnish a strong inducement to the officers commanding those corps, to maintain them in a state of efficiency and good order.—As the employment of Inspecting Field Officers, in a due proportion, appears to his Majesty's Government to be essentially necessary for preserving the Volunteer Force in a state of efficiency, and for enabling his Majesty's Government, from time to time, to form an accurate judgment of the condition, numbers, and good order of the respective Corps, it is his Majesty's intention to appoint, without delay, a certain number of persons to execute the duties of Inspecting Field Officers in the different Districts.—There are many other circumstances connected with the Volunteer Establishment, upon which I have received reports from several quarters, which are under the consideration of his Majesty's Government, and upon which it may be necessary for me to make some further communication to you hereafter; but it has been deemed important that no time should be lost in

communicating to you his Majesty's determination upon the above points. I have the honour to be, my Lord, &c.—HAWKESBURY.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

CONTINENTAL WAR.—*Sixty-ninth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.*
(Concluded from page 96.)

The health of the Emperor continues excellent; it is even remarked that it appears better than formerly. Some days his Majesty makes excursions to the distance of forty miles on horseback. At Warsaw it was last week believed that the Emperor had arrived there about ten o'clock at night. The whole town was immediately and voluntarily illuminated.—The fortresses of Praga, Sie-rock, Modlin, Thorn, and Marienburg, begin to be put into a state of defence. The works of Marienwerder are planned. All these fortresses form *têtes du pont* on the Vistula. The Emperor praises the activity of Marshal Kellerman in forming the provisional regiments, many of which have arrived in good condition, and are incorporated in the army.—His Majesty also bestows great praise on Gen. Clark, Governor of Berlin, who displays equal activity and zeal in the important post confided to him. Prince Jerome, who commands the troops in Silesia, has also given proofs of great activity, and has exhibited a degree of skill and penetration which is, in general, only the fruit of long experience.

70th Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Finkenstein, April 3.—A corps of 400 Prussians, who embarked at Koningsberg, and landed on the peninsular opposite Pillau, advanced towards the village of Carlsberg. M. Mainguernaud, Aide-de-Camp of Marshal Lefebvre, marched towards that place with a few men. He manœuvred so dexterously, that he took the 400 Prussians, among whom were 120 cavalry. Several Russian regiments have entered Dantzig by sea. The garrison has made several sorties. The Polish Legion of the North, and their Commander Prince Michael Radzivil, have greatly distinguished themselves. They took about forty Russian prisoners. The siege is carried on with activity. The battering train begins to arrive. There is nothing new at the different posts of the army.

71st Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Finkenstein, April 19.—The victory of Eylau having frustrated all the plans which the enemy had formed against the Lower Vistula, has enabled us to surround

Dantzic, and to commence the siege of that fortress. But it was necessary to draw the battering artillery from the fortresses of Silesia and along the Oder, so that it had to come upwards of 100 leagues through a country in which there are no roads. This difficulty is now got over, and a part of that artillery is already arrived: 100 pieces of cannon are now on the way from Stettin, Custrin, Glogau, and Breslau, and in a few days we shall be provided with every thing necessary. The Prussian General Kalkreuth has the command at Dantzic. The garrison consists of 14,000 Prussians, and 6000 Russians. The inundations and marshes, several lines of fortifications, and the fort of Weixelmunde, have rendered it difficult to surround the fortress. The Saxon, the Polish, and the Baden troops, since the Hereditary Prince of Baden is at their head, are vying with each other in bravery.—The enemy has not tried any other means of coming to the assistance of Dantzic, than by sending a few battalions and some provisions to the place by sea. In Silesia, Prince Jerome continues the siege of Neisse vigorously. Since the Prince of Pletz has declined to act, Baron Kleist, Aid-de-Camp to the King of Prussia, is arrived at Glatz, by way of Vienna, with the title of Governor General of Silesia. He is accompanied by an English commissary, who must keep his eye upon the manner in which the £80,000 sterling are laid out, which were given by England to the King of Prussia.—On the 13th inst. that Prussian officer advanced from Glatz with a corps of 4000 men, and attacked General Lefebvre (who commands the corps of observation which covers the siege of Neisse), at Frankenstein. This operation has been ineffectual. Baron Kleist was repulsed with vigour. On the 14th, Prince Jerome fixed his headquarters at Munsterberg.—For these two months past, the grand army has been quiet in its cantonments. This time has been employed in recruiting the cavalry, and providing them with horses, repairing the arms, establishing large magazines of biscuit and brandy, and furnishing the soldiers with shoes. Independent of one pair in wear, each man has two more pair in his knapsack. Silesia and the Island of Nogat have furnished a number of good horses to the cuirassiers, to the dragoons, and to the light cavalry.—In the beginning of May, an army of observation, consisting of 50,000 French and Spanish troops, will be assembled on the Elbe. Whilst Russia has assembled in Poland nearly the whole of her troops, there is only a part of the French military force in that country. This, however, is a consequence of

the great difference which exists between the essential strength of the two countries. The 500,000 Russians, which the writers of newspapers made to march to the right and again to the left, only exist in their papers and in the imagination of some readers, who are the easier misled, by being shewn the immense extent of the Russian territory, without the least mention of its extensive deserts and uncultivated districts.—It is said, that the guards of the Emperor of Russia have reached the army. They will see on the first meeting, whether the Imperial Guard is annihilated, as the enemy's generals have asserted. That guard is now more numerous than ever, and almost double the number it was at Austerlitz. Exclusive of the bridge thrown across the Narew, another is forming on piles between Warsaw and Praga: the work is in a very forward state. The bridges on piles are stronger and more serviceable than those of boats. Although it is very laborious to construct such bridges across a river of 400 rods in breadth, it is rendered easy through the skill and activity of the officers, under whose direction it is performed, and from the abundance of timber.—The Prince of Benevento is still at Warsaw, negotiating with the Ambassadors of the Porte and of the Emperor of Persia. Independent of the services which he renders to the Emperor as a minister, some important operations are frequently entrusted to him relative to the wants of the army. The cold weather has again set in for these two days: the thaw is the only symptom we have of the spring; the earliest shrubs do not yet present the least sign of verdure.

72d Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Finkenstein, April 23.—The operations of Marshal Mortier have had the desired effect. The Swedes were so inconsiderate as to cross the River Peene, to advance upon Anclam and Demmin, and to move towards Pasewalk. On the 16th, before break of day, Marshal Mortier assembled his troops, advanced from Pasewalk on the road to Anclam, overthrew the posts at Belling and Ferdinandshoff, took 400 prisoners and two pieces of cannon, entered Anclam at the same time with the enemy, and made himself master of the bridge on the Peene. The column of the Swedish General Cardell was cut off. It remained at Uckermunde when we were already at Anclam. The Swedish General in Chief Armfeldt has been wounded by a grape shot. All the enemy's magazines are taken. The column of Gen. Cardell, which has been cut off, was attacked on the 17th, by the General of Brigade Veau,

near Uckermunde, when the enemy lost 3 pieces of cannon, and 500 men, which were taken. The rest escaped by getting on board the gun-boats in the Haff; 2 more pieces of cannon, and 100 men, were taken near Demmin. Baron Von Essen, who commands the Swedish army during the absence of Gen. Armfeldt, proposed an armistice to General Mortier, informing him, that the King had granted him a special power to conclude the same. A peace, or even an armistice, granted to Sweden, would accomplish the most sanguine wishes of the Emperor, who has always been very reluctant to carry on a war against a generous and brave nation, which, upon local and political grounds, is the friend of France. Must Swedish blood flow, either to protect or to subvert the Ottoman Empire? Is it to flow for maintaining the balance, or for supporting the slavery of the seas? What has Sweden to fear from France? Nothing. What has she to fear from Russia? Every thing. These reasons are too evident not to prompt an enlightened cabinet, and a nation which possesses clearness of mind, and independence of opinion, to put a speedy stop to the war. Immediately after the battle of Jena, the Emperor made known his desire to restore the ancient relations between Sweden and France. These first overtures were made to the Swedish minister at Hamburg, but rejected. The Emperor constantly directed his generals to treat the Swedes as friends, with whom we are at variance, and with whom we shall soon be reconciled, from the nature of things. Behold the true interests of both nations. If they did us any harm, they would regret it; and we, on our part, should wish to repair the wrong which we may have done them. The interest of the state will at last rise superior to all differences and petty quarrels. These were the Emperor's own words, in his orders. Animated by such sentiments, the Emperor ordered the military operations for the siege of Stralsund to be discontinued, and the mortars and cannon which were sent from Stettin for that purpose, to be sent back. He wrote to Gen. Mortier in the following words: 'I already regret what has been done. I am sorry that the fine suburb of Stralsund is burnt. Is it our business to hurt Sweden? This is a mere dream. It is our business to protect, not to do her any injury. In the latter, let us be as moderate as possible. Propose to the Governor of Stralsund an armistice, or a cessation of hostilities, in order to ease the burden, and lessen the calamities of war, which I consider as wicked, because it is impolitic.' On the 8th,

the armistice was concluded between Marshal Mortier and Baron Von Essen. On the 13th April, at 8 in the evening, a detachment of 2000 men from the garrison of Glatz, advanced with 6 pieces of cannon, against the right wing of the post of Frankenstein. On the following day, the 17th, at break of day, another column of 800 men, marched from Silberberg. These troops, after their junction, advanced upon Frankenstein, and commenced an attack, at 5 in the morning, with an intent to attack Gen. Lefebvre, who was posted there with a corps of observation. Prince Jerome set off from Munsterberg, when the first gun was fired, and arrived at Frankenstein at ten in the morning. The enemy was completely dispersed, and pursued to the covered way of Glatz: 600 of them were taken, together with 3 pieces of cannon. One major and 8 officers are among the prisoners: 300 men were left dead on the field of battle: 400 men that had escaped in the woods were attacked and taken at 11 in the forenoon. Col. Beckers, commanding the 6th Bavarian regiment of the line, and Col. Scharfenstein, of the Wirtemberg troops, have done wonders. The former would not quit the field of battle, although he was wounded in the shoulder; he shewed himself every where at the head of his battalion, and every where he performed wonders. The Emperor has granted to each of these officers the Eagle of the Legion of Honour. Capt. Brockfeld, who provisionally commands the Wirtemberg horse chasseurs, has likewise distinguished himself; and it was him that took the several pieces of cannon. The siege of Neisse is going on prosperously. One half of the town is already burnt, and the trenches are approaching very near the fortress.

73d Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Elbing, May 8.—The Persian Ambassador has received his audience of leave. He brought some very fine presents to the Emperor, from his Master, and received in return the Emperor's portrait, enriched with very fine stones. He returns directly to Persia. He is a very considerable personage in his country, and a man of sense and great sagacity. His return to his country was necessary. It has been regulated that there shall henceforth be a numerous legation of Persians at Paris, and of Frenchmen at Tchesan.—The Journal of the siege of Dantzic will make known, that our troops have lodged themselves in the covert way, that the fire of the town is extinguished, and will give the details of the fine operation which Gen. Drouet directed, and which was ex-

cuted by Col. Aime, the chief of battalion; Arnaud of the 2d light infantry, and Captain Avy. This operation put us in possession of an island, which was defended by 1000 Russians, and 5 redoubts mounted with artillery, and which is very important for the siege, since it is in the back position which our troops are attacking. The Russians were surprised in their guard house, 400 were slaughtered with the bayonet without having time to defend themselves, and 600 were made prisoners. This expedition, which took place in the night of the 6th, was in a great measure performed by the troops of Paris, who covered themselves with glory.—The weather is growing milder; the roads are excellent; the buds appear upon the trees; the fields begin to be covered with grass, but it will require a month before they afford fodder to the cavalry.—The Emperor has established at Magdeburgh, under the orders of Marshal Brune, a corps of observation, which will consist of nearly 80,000 men, half Frenchmen, and the other half Dutchmen and Confederates of the Rhine; the Dutch troops are to the number of 20,000 men.—The French division of Molitor and Boudet, which also form a part of this corps of observation, arrived on the 13th of May at Magdeburgh. Thus we are able to receive the English expedition upon whatever point it may present itself. It is certain that it will disembark; it is not so that it will be able to reembark.

74th Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Finkenstein, May 16—Prince Jerome, having discovered that three out-works of Neisse, alongside the Bielau, impeded the progress of the siege, ordered Gen. Vandamme to occupy them. In the night from the 30th of April to the 1st of May, this general, at the head of the Wurtemburgh troops, took the said works, put the enemy's troops by whom they were defended to the sword, took 120 prisoners, and 9 pieces of cannon.—It seems, that a grand council of war was held at Bartenstein, since the arrival in the camp of the Emperor Alexander, at which the King of Prussia and the Grand Duke Constantine assisted; that the dangerous situation of the city of Dantzig was the subject of the deliberations of the said council, and that it was found, Dantzig could only be relieved in two ways; first, by attacking the French army, to cross the Passarge, and to take the chance of a general engagement, the result of which (provided any advantage was obtained), would be, to compel the French army to raise the siege of Dantzig; the second, to throw succours into Dantzig

from the sea side. It seems that the first plan was deemed impracticable, unless the enemy would expose himself to be completely defeated and routed. It was therefore resolved to confine themselves to the other plan of relieving Dantzig by water.—In consequence thereof, Lieut. Gen. Kaminski, son of the field marshal, embarked at Pillau, with 2 Russian divisions, formed of 12 regiments, and several Prussian regiments. On the 12th, the troops were landed from 66 transports, under convoy of 3 frigates, in the port of Dantzig, under the protection of the Fort of Weichselmunde.—The Emperor immediately ordered Marshal Lasnes, who commands the reserve of the grand army, to advance from Marienburgh (where he had his head quarters), with the division of Gen. Oudinot, to reinforce the army of Marshal Lefebvre. He arrived, after an uninterrupted march, at the very moment when the enemy's troops were landing.—On the 13th and 14th, the enemy made preparations for the attack. They were separated from the town by the distance of somewhat less than one league, but that part was occupied by French troops. On the 15th, the enemy advanced from the fort in 3 columns, with an intention to penetrate to the town along the right bank of the Vistula. The Gen. of Brigade Schramm (who was at the advanced posts with the 2d regiment of light infantry, and one battalion of Saxons and Poles), received the first fire, and resisted the enemy at the distance of a cannon shot from Weichselmunde.—Marshal Lefebvre had repaired to the bridge which is situated below on the Vistula, and ordered the 12th regiment of light infantry, together with the Saxons, to cross over that way, to support Gen. Schramm. Gen. Gardanne, who was charged with the defence of the right bank of the Vistula, also pressed that way with the rest of his troops. The enemy was superior in numbers, and the contest was continued with equal obstinacy. Marshal Lasnes, with the reserve of Oudinot, was placed on the left bank of the Vistula, where it was expected, the day before, that the enemy would make his appearance; but when Marshal Lasnes saw the movements of the enemy disclosed, he crossed the Vistula with 4 battalions of Gen. Oudinot's reserve. The whole of the enemy's line and reserve were thrown into confusion, and pursued to the palisadoes, and at 9 in the morning the enemy was shut up in the fort of Weichselmunde. The field of battle was strewed with dead bodies. Our loss consists of 25 killed, and 200 wounded. The enemy's loss is 900 killed, 1500 wound-

ed, and 200 taken. The enemy from the height of his demolished and almost destroyed ramparts, was witness to the whole action. He was dejected, on seeing the hopes vanishing which he had formed of receiving succour. Gen. Oudinot has killed 3 Russians with his own hand.—It will appear from the journal of the siege of Dantzig, that the works are carried on with equal activity, that the covered way is completed, and that we are occupied with preparations for passing the ditch.—As soon as the enemy knew that his maritime expedition had arrived before Dantzig his light troops began to reconnoitre and alarm the whole line, from the position occupied by Marshal Soult, on the Paesarge, to that of Gen. Morand, upon the Alle. They were received at the mouth of the musket by the voltigeurs, lost a considerable number of men, and retired with more precipitation than they came.—The Russians also presented themselves at Malga, before Gen. Zayonchek, the Commandant of the Polish corps of observation, and carried off one of his posts. The Gen. of Brigade Fischer pursued, routed them, and killed 60 men, one colonel, and two captains. They likewise presented themselves before the 5th corps, and insulted Gen. Gazan's advanced posts at Willenberg. This general pursued them several leagues. But they made a more serious attack upon the bridge of Omelew at Drenzewo. The Gen. of Brigade Girard marched against them with the 88th, and drove them into the Narew. Gen. Suchet arrived, pursued the Russians closely, and defeated them at Ostrolenka, where he killed 60 men, and took 50 horses.—On the same day, the 13th, the enemy attacked Gen. Lemois, at the mouth of the Bug. This general had passed that river on the 10th, with a Bavarian brigade, and a Polish regiment, who, in the course of three days, had constructed several *tetes-du-pont*, and had advanced to Wiskowo, with the intention of burning the rafts which the enemy had been at work upon during 6 weeks. This expedition completely succeeded, and the ridiculous work of 6 weeks was destroyed in a moment.—All the army is encamped in divisions of square battalions, in very wholesome situations. These affairs of advanced posts have not occasioned any movements in the army. Every thing is quiet at the head-quarters. This general attack upon our advanced posts seems to have had no other object than to occupy the French army, so as to prevent them from reinforcing the troops employed in the siege of Dantzig.—The hope of succouring Dantzig, by means of a maritime expedition, ap-

pears very extraordinary to well informed military men, acquainted with the ground and the position occupied by the French army.—The leaves begin to appear; and the season resembles the month of April in France.

75th Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Finkenstein, May 18.—The following are further particulars relative to the affair of the 15th. Marshal Lefebvre makes a very favourable report of General Schramm, to whom he, in a great measure, imputes the favourable issue of the affair at Weichselmunde.—On the morning of the 15th, at 2 o'clock, Gen. Schramm had formed in order of battle, covered by two redoubts, thrown up opposite the fort of Weichselmunde. He had the Poles on the left, the Saxons in the centre, and the regiment of Paris in reserve. The Russian General Kamenski sallied from the fort at day break, and after two hours hard fighting, the 12th regiment of light infantry, sent by Marshal Lefebvre from the left shore, and a battalion of Saxons, decided the victory. Scarcely a battalion belonging to Oudinot's corps had any occasion to take part in the action. Our loss is very trifling. M. Paris, a Polish colonel, was killed. The loss of the enemy is greater than we supposed. We have buried 900 Russians. We cannot reckon their loss at less than 2,500 men. We observed no more movements on the part of the enemy, who seemed to confine himself very prudently within the circuit of the works. The number of vessels sent off with the wounded was 14. The Emperor has issued a decree for making every person who distinguished himself on this occasion a member of the Legion of Honour: they are about 30 in number.—On the 14th, a division of 5,000 men, mostly Prussians, from Koningsberg, landed on the Neyrung, and advanced against our light cavalry as far as Kahlberg, who thought proper to fall back upon Puretenwerder.—The enemy advanced to the extremity of the Frisch Haff. We expected they would have penetrated from thence to Dantzig. A bridge thrown over the Vistula at Furstenwerder, made the passage easy for our troops cantoned in the Island of Nogat, so that the infantry might have attacked the enemy's rear; but the Prussians were too wary to proceed. The Emperor ordered General Beaumont, Aide-de-camp to the Grand Duke of Berg, to attack them. On the morning of the 16th, at two o'clock, the General of Brigade Albert, advanced, at the head of two battalions of grenadiers of the reserve, the 3d and the 1st regiments of

chasseurs, and a brigade of dragoons. He met the enemy about day break, between Passenwerder and Stege, attacked him, routed, and closely pursued him 11 leagues, made 1100 prisoners, killed and wounded a great number, and took 4 pieces of cannon.

—Thus the enemy has suffered considerable losses, at various points, since the 12th.—On the 17th the Emperor caused the fusiliers of the guard to manœuvre: they are encamped near the castle of Finckenstein in barracks, equally as handsome as those at Boulogne.—On the 18th and 19th the Imperial Guard encamped upon the same spot.

—Prince Jerome is encamped in Silesia, with a corps of observation, covering the siege of Neisse.——On the 12th the Prince learned, that a column of 3000 men had left Glatz to surprise Breslau. He ordered Gen. Lefebvre to advance with the 1st Bavarian regiment, and a detachment of 300 Saxons. In the morning of the 14th, the general came up with the enemy's rear near Cauth, which he immediately attacked, made himself master of the village with the bayonet, and took 150 prisoners: 100 of the Bavarian light cavalry fell upon those of the enemy, 500 in number, routed and dispersed them. The enemy again formed in order of battle, and offered resistance: 300 Saxons fled; this extraordinary conduct must have been the effects of dissatisfaction, as the Saxons have always behaved with valour ever since they joined the French. However, this unexpected event brought the first Bavarian regiment into a very critical situation. They lost 150 men, who were made prisoners, and they were compelled to beat a retreat, which they effected in good order. The enemy retook the village of Cauth.—In the morning, at 11 o'clock, Gen. Dumuy, who had advanced from Breslau with 1000 French dismounted dragoons, hussars and chasseurs, attacked the enemy in the rear: 150 of the hussars retook the village, after a charge with the bayonet, made 100 prisoners, and liberated all the Bavarians made prisoners by the Prussians.—The enemy, in order to facilitate his retreat to Glatz, had separated in two columns. General Lefebvre, who left Schweidnitz on the 15th, fell in with one of these columns, killed 100, and made 400 prisoners, including 30 officers. A Polish regiment of lance-bearers had arrived on the preceding evening at Frankenstein, and a detachment of these being sent to join Gen. Lefebvre, by Prince Jerome, distinguished themselves on this occasion.—The second column endeavoured to regain Glatz, by passing the Silberberz. Lieut. Gen. Ducoudrais, the Prince's aid-de-

camp, fell in with them, and threw them in disorder. Thus a column of between 3000 and 4000 men, that left Glatz, was unable to return. They have been either killed, made prisoners, or dispersed.

76th Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Finkenstein, May 20 — A fine English corvette, copper sheathed, having 120 English for her crew, and laden with powder and ball, presented herself off Dantzig, with an intention to enter that port. On approaching near our works, she was attacked from both the shores with a heavy shower of musketry, and forced to surrender. A picquet of the regiment of Paris was the first to leap on board. An aid-de-camp of Gen. Kalkreuth, who was on his return from the Russian head quarters, and several English officers, were taken on board the vessel. She is called the Undaunted, and had 60 Russians on board, besides the 120 English.—The enemy's loss in the affair of Weichselmunde, on the 15th, was greater than was at first supposed. A Russian column, which held out to the last, was put to the bayonet to a man. There were 1300 Russians buried.—On the 16th a Russian division of 6000 men, under General Turkow, advanced from Brock to the Bug and town of Pultusk, with a view to prevent the execution of some new works for strengthening the *tête du pont*. These works were defended by six Bavarian battalions, under the command of the Crown Prince in person. The enemy advanced four times to the attack, and were four times repulsed by the Bavarians, and covered with grape shot from the batteries of the different works. Marshal Massena estimates the enemy's loss at 300 killed, and twice as many wounded. And what renders the conflict still more glorious is, that the Bavarians were not quite 400. The Crown Prince commends, in particular, the Bavarian General Baron Wrede, an officer of conspicuous merit. The loss of the Bavarians amounted to 15 killed, and 150 wounded.—The same mismanagement, as in the attack of the 16th at Pultusk, was displayed in that which the enemy made on the 13th, against the works of Gen. Lemois; nor was their want of judgment less conspicuous in the preparation of a great number of rafts, which the enemy were preparing on the Bug for these six weeks past. The result was, that those rafts which took them so long in preparation, were burnt in two hours time; and that those repeated attacks upon works well contrived, and defended by strong batteries, without a chance of success, have produced them a consider-

able loss. We are almost induced to think, that the purport of these attacks, was to draw the attention of the French army to their right wing. But the position of the army was calculated, by anticipation, for every case, and for all chances of attack and defence.—In the mean while, the important siege of Dantzic is continued. The loss of that important fortress, and of the 20,000 men shut up within the same, will be severely felt by the enemy. A mine which was contrived near the outer bastion, had the effect of blowing it up. A communication has been opened with the covered way by four entrances, and we are employed in filling up the ditch.—This day the Emperor reviewed the 9th provisional regiment. The first eight of those regiments have already been embodied. The Genoese conscripts among those regiments are much extolled for the readiness and zeal displayed by them.

77th Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Finckenstein, May 29.—Dantzic has capitulated. That fine city is in our possession. Eight hundred pieces of artillery, magazines of every kind, more than 500,000 quintals of grain, well-stored cellars, immense collections of cloathing and spices; great resources of every kind for the army; lastly, a place of the first order for strength on our left wing, as Thorn supports our centre, and Praga our right; these are the advantages obtained during winter, and which have signalized the leisure hours of the grand army; this is, indeed, the first fruit of the victory of Eylau. The rigour of the season, the snow which has so often covered our trenches, the ice which has added fresh difficulties, have afforded no obstacles to our operations. Marshal Lefebvre has braved all; he has animated with the same spirit the Saxons, the Poles, the troops of Baden, and has made them all conduce to his end. The difficulties which the artillery had to conquer were considerable. One hundred pieces of artillery, 5 or 6000 pounds weight of powder, and an immense quantity of bullets have been drawn from Stettin, and the strong places in Silesia. It was necessary to surmount many difficulties in removing the artillery, but the Vistula afforded easy and expeditious means. The marines of the guards have passed their boats under the fort of Grandentz with their accustomed skill and resolution. General Chasseloup, General Kingener, Colonel Lacosta, and in general all the officers of the engineers, have

served in the most distinguished manner. The sappers have shewn an uncommon degree of intrepidity. The whole corps of artillery, under General Lariboissire, has sustained its reputation. The 2d regiment of light infantry, the 12th, and the troops of Paris, with Generals Schramm and Puthod, have distinguished themselves. A detailed journal of this siege will soon be drawn up with care. It will consecrate a great number of acts of bravery, worthy of being exhibited as examples, and such as must excite enthusiasm and admiration.—On the 17th, the mine blew up a block house, attached to the guard house on the covered way. On the 19th, the descent and passage of the fosse were executed at seven o'clock in the evening. On the 21st, Marshal Lefebvre having prepared every thing for the assault, they were proceeding to the attack, when Colonel Lacosta, who had been sent in the morning into the place upon some business, signified that General Kalkreuth demanded to capitulate on the same conditions that he had formerly granted to the garrison of Mayence. This was agreed to. The Hakelsburgh would have been stormed with very little loss, but the body of the place was yet entire. A large fosse, full of running water, presented such difficulties that the besieged might have held out for fifteen days longer. In this situation it appeared proper to grant them an honourable capitulation.—On the 27th, the garrison marched out, with General Kalkreuth at its head. This strong garrison, which at first consisted of 16,000 men, was reduced to 9000 men, of which number 4000 have deserted. Among the deserters there are even officers. "We will not," they say, "go to Siberia." Many thousands of artillery horses have been given up to us, but they are in very bad condition. They are now drawing up the inventory of the magazines. General Rapp is named Governor of Dantzic.—The Russian Lieut. Gen. Kamensky, after having been beat on the 15th, retired under the fortifications of Weichselmunde. He remained there without venturing to undertake any thing; and he has been a spectator of the surrender of the place. When he perceived that they were erecting batteries, to burn his ships with red-hot balls, he embarked and retired. He has returned to Pillau.—The fort of Weichselmunde still held out. Marshal Lefebvre summoned it on the 26th, and while they were regulating the terms of capitulation, the garrison advanced from the fort and surrendered.

(To be continued.)